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STAPLE INN ···
CUSTOMS HOUSE, WOOL COURT & INN OF CHANCERY
ITS MEDIÆVAL SURROUNDINGS & ASSOCIATIONS ··

BY E·WILLIAMS·F·R·G·S·

E·L·SCOTT·

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BAY WINDOW OF THE COUNCIL-ROOM (1901)

BUILDINGS IN STAPLE INN (1757)

THE HALL OF STAPLE INN (1500)

THE CHARTERED INSTITUTE OF PATENT AGENTS AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS

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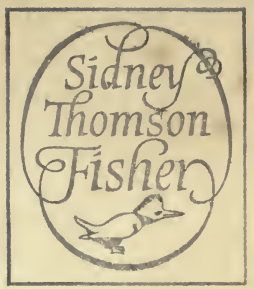

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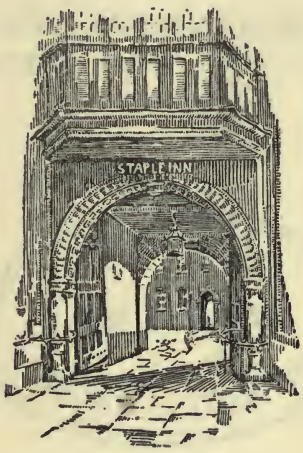
E. WILLIAMS, F.R.G.S.



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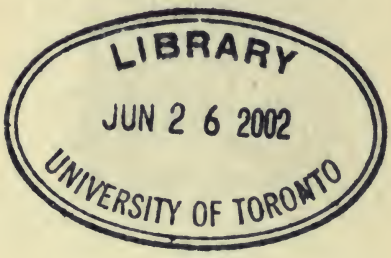

TO

SIR HENRY HARBEN

AND

HIS CO-DIRECTORS OF THE PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY

THROUGH WHOSE PUBLIC SPIRIT AND TIMELY ACTION

STAPLE INN HAS BEEN PRESERVED

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THE greater part of this book is made up of matter which has now been brought together for the first time. No attempt has been made to go over ground already well covered by Foss, by Day, and by Cato Worsfold. My object has been rather to throw fuller light on the origin of Staple Inn and to supply fresh facts and suggestions as to its history.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Directors of the Prudential Assurance Company for allowing me access to all their muniments relating to this subject, and for their gracious permission to dedicate this work to them; also to the Benchers of Gray's Inn for the use of extracts from their Pension Book. Nor can I omit to mention the great kindness of Mr. H. A. Harben of the London County Council, who, though a very busy man, has looked through my MS. before its committal to print, and has assisted me not a little with his knowledge of antiquarian London and his excellent judgment and advice.

My indebtedness to my literary forerunners is acknowledged in the course of the volume which, it is needless to say, could not have been compiled but for their previous labours. In addition, my thanks are due to Mr. I. Burrows for his assistance in producing the map, and for his photographs of the Inn which have enabled Miss Scott to produce her illustrations; and, finally, I must acknowledge my debt to Mr. Paul Waterhouse for the drawings of the roof of the Hall which he so courteously supplied.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE block of quaint old buildings situate at Holborn Bars, which so often, at first view, excites in the casual visitor a feeling of pleasurable interest and surprise, is not of any very great age in comparison with masterpieces of inspired stonework such as some of the English mediæval cathedrals. Probably no part of it is more than three hundred and fifty years old. But as a typical example of Elizabethan domestic architecture it stands without a rival in the whole of London. And as such it forms a unique monument of a most fascinating period in the history of the English people.

These buildings do seem old, however, when we come to reflect that the present hoary-looking frontage and also the Hall of the Inn were built nearly thirty years before the London Virginia Company planted, in 1607, the first colony of Englishmen on the North American continent, that is, thirty years before even a beginning was made of those small settlements, the phenomenal development of which has culminated in the present United States. This fact serves to emphasise not only the length of years but also the important transformations which these relics of the past have witnessed and withstood.

The Hall of the Inn was being built in 1580 and the embellishment of its interior was being completed in 1592. Robert Willett, one of the lessees of a large part of the Inn, bequeathed in the latter year to 'the Principall and Graunde Companye of Staple Inne towards the finishing of the Seeling (*wainscoting*) and trymming (*decoration*) of the haule of the said Inne the somme of fyve pounds of moneye to be paid to them by my executors

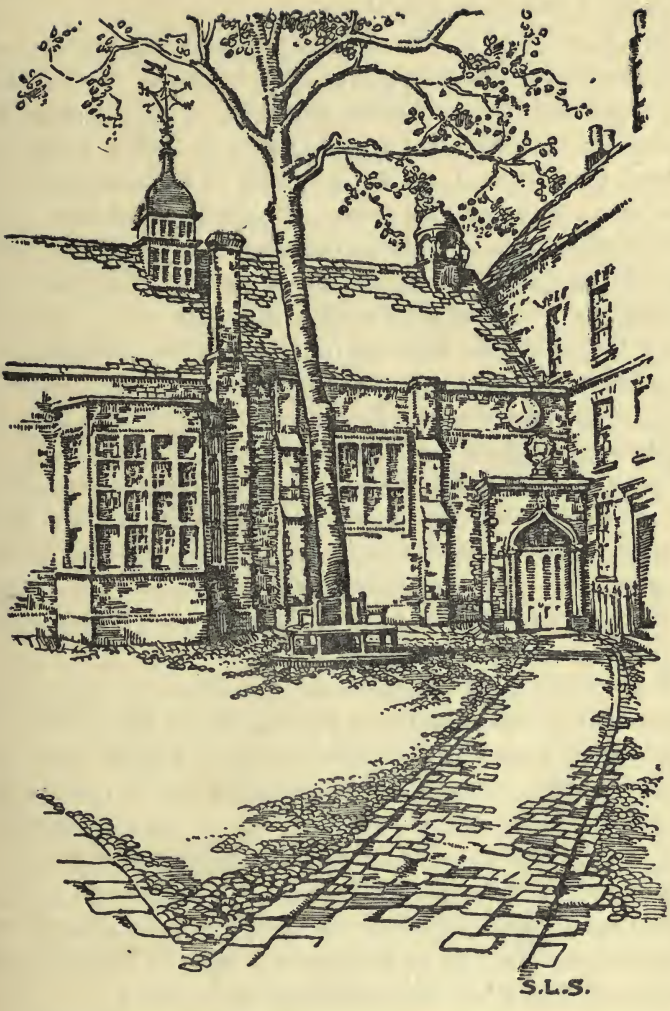
within two monethes next after the same Hall shall begonne to be seeled and trymmed.'[1]

In 1584, at his own expense, Robert Willett, a Grandfellow of the Inn, had already to a large extent 'wainscotted the new builded hall,' and in consideration thereof had been permitted to rebuild a part of the Inn; and 'at the special instance and request of the Principal and Gentlemen of Staple Inne, an Inne of Chancery, appendant and belonging to Gray's Inn' had received from 'the Right Worshippful the Readers of Gray's Inn' a lease of the said premises for sixty years.[2] These premises were taken down in the early part of the eighteenth century; but other premises leased to Vincent Engham by the Society of Staple Inn in consideration of his having rebuilt the same in 1586, which were assigned by Engham to Willett, still in part remain. This portion of the Inn is that part of the frontage lying west of the Bars and known as 337 and 338 High Holborn. The other part of the frontage is of a very similar character, and we may conclude that it too was rebuilt at about the same period, at all events not much before 1570.

DETAIL FROM THE WAINSCOTING OF STAPLE HALL.

That these buildings must have been regarded when they were built as good specimens of their class is tolerably certain. For Sir George Buck, writing in 1615, says it is 'much to the praise and commendation of the gentlemen of this house that they have bestowed great costs in new building a fair Hall of brick and two

[1] Wills proved P. C. C., 1592. Robert Willett, 16 Nevell.
[2] Record Office, Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth, N. 2, 58.



STAPLE HALL—BUILT BY RICHARD CHAMPION IN A.D. 1581.

parts of the outer Courtyards besides other lodging in the garden and elsewhere and have thereby made it the fayrest Inne of Chancery in this University.'[1]

The 'two parts of the outer courtyards' referred to were undoubtedly the blocks facing the north and west. That towards the north abutting on Holborn Bars, that is, the frontage, still exists; but after the great fire of London in 1666 it became the custom, in order to lessen the spreading of any conflagration in the future, to cover with plaster all exterior woodwork in the building of houses, and this part of the Inn was disfigured in this manner and its windows set back to the same upright plane as the walls for two hundred and twenty years. But even in this condition Staple Inn was described in the year 1720 by Strype as 'a very handsome, open and well-built place.' In 1887, however, the plaster was scraped off, the woodwork exposed, and the windows restored to their original position by the present proprietors of the Inn, who utilised for the purposes of restoration the services of their distinguished architect the late Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, R.A.; so that we now see it much the same, barring its greater age and the modernised shops, as it must have appeared to Sir George Buck in the reign of James I., when he described it as 'the fayrest Inne of Chancery.'

It is certain, however, that these structures were rebuilt upon much more ancient foundations, and that Staple Inn existed as an Inn and was known by that name nearly six hundred years ago. It will be shown in these pages how it was that it received that name. And inasmuch as its ancient history and the concurrent purposes for which it was used cannot be understood without some account of its early surroundings, an attempt will be made to regain some idea of what those surroundings were in Norman and Plantagenet times; for in no other way can the importance and interest of this earliest Inn of Chancery be conveyed.

[1] *The Third University*, etc. Geo. Buck, 1615, in Stow's *Annales*.

CHAPTER II

THE NAME

ALTHOUGH for centuries this Inn was known as an Inn for Chancery Students, it was not as an Inn of Chancery that it received its name. Staple Inn means, in the language of the Middle Ages, a customs-house, and in particular a customs-house for wool.

Etymologically, however, the word *staple* has nothing to do with taxable commodities or with wool. It signifies a rest, a heap, or a stack. In a charter of the Saxon King, Edgar, dated 969, we are told that 'the king stood upon the *stapole*.' We may imagine that the stapole would be a low rest or stand for goods to keep them off the ground. Sometimes the Saxon word *stapol*, *stapel*, or *stapul*, or its Danish equivalent, *stable*, denoted simply a pillar or stone set up as a mark. It is supposed that Whitstable took its name in this way, from a white pillar or stone erected as a guide to ships entering the harbour. And it is not unlikely that in the days when town and mart were synonymous, a *staple* was a pillar set up to indicate the place where a Fair with its collection of booths might be held, and in that respect it was the predecessor of the cross with which in later times the market was hallowed.

But the word came eventually to be applied to a stack of goods or a store of merchandise, and also the place or ground where the goods were exposed for sale. In another charter of King Edgar, dated 967, we are told that a certain boundary went 'from the burial ground on to the *stapol*; from the *stapole* on to clear-ford'; and in this connection the word seems to indicate a market.[1]

[1] *Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, pp. 466-467: John Earle, 1888. *Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*: T. N. Toller, 1882. *Codex Diplomaticus*: Kemble.

Such personal names as Staple and Stable can also be shown to have had a likely origin in the staple; as for instance Adam del Stable, also called Adam Staple, who was M.P. for the City in 1373 and Mayor in 1377, and was a wool merchant. Under-constables were always associated with markets; and every Wool Staple of Plantagenet times had a Mayor and two Constables.

The French in Plantagenet times used the word *estaple* both for a mart and marketable goods, and also for the public storehouse within which merchant strangers lodged their commodities which they meant to sell;[1] *étape*, its modern derivative, has the meaning of store-house in English. The word *halle*, also, which in the Middle Ages was the Anglo-French equivalent for the Saxon *inn*, which then signified any tenement embracing an enclosure, means to-day, in modern French, a market or market-house.

Le stapled halle, therefore, in the reign of Edward III. would, no doubt, have the same meaning as the Dutch *stapel-huys*, that is, a staple-house or warehouse where commodities chargeable with export duties might be examined and taxed. And Staple Inn, in the year 1333, was known by the name of '*le stapled halle*,' being associated, no doubt, with the ideas both of a customs-house and of a pie-powder court of justice.

On the 25th January 1330, the will of John le Brun was proved in the Court of Hustings. He bequeathed his tenement in the parish of Berkyngecherche, called 'la Stapeldehalle,' to his wife Amicia. And three years later at the same Court the will of Richard Starcolf, mercer, was proved, who bequeathed his tenement called 'le Stapled halle' within the Bar, in the parish of St. Andrew de Holeburne, to be sold for pious uses; and to his son Thomas, in tail, all his tenements and arable lands without the Bar in the parish of St. Giles of the Lepers. It was dated Holeburne, Friday, the morrow of the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 23rd July 1333.[2]

Here we have records of two *halles* at opposite extremities of the Liberty of the City of London: one near the Tower, in the

[1] *English Etymology*. H. Wedgwood, 4th Ed., 1888.
[2] *Court of Hustings Wills*, pp. 363, 394. R. R. Sharpe.

parish of All Hallows, Barking, which no doubt stood on the wharf of the dock which existed there; the other at Holborn Bars. The former would have occupied a site near the present Customs House; the latter, still perpetuated in Staple Inn, proves the survival of its name for at least five hundred and seventy-two years. It received that name, as we shall see, in 1313.

Another *stapledehalle* existed for a time at St. Botolph's, without Bishopsgate, where we might suppose one would have existed, namely, at the entrance to the city by the great eastern Roman road, known as Ermyn Street; but in 1330 it was leased to a fishmonger, and in 1346 to another of the same trade.

On the 4th August 1330, a lease was granted by Friar William de Banham, procurator general of the Order of Bethlehem, to Richard de Swanlond, fishmonger, of a house called 'la Stapeledehalle,' with shop, etc., adjoining, in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopesgate, situate near the tenement of John Geryn and John Brid; to hold the same for a term of twelve years from Michaelmas 1330, paying to the nuns of St. Helen's in London the sum of three shillings.[1]

By the year 1346 this lease had duly expired, for on the 15th August of that year the Master and Brethren of the order of the Knights of St. Mary of Bethlehem made an agreement with Robert Haunsard (a fishmonger) and Thomas Gentil, junior, touching a certain chamber with solar and cellar within the close of the moat (mote) of the said house, which the said Robert and Thomas are to enjoy with certain limitations, and subject to certain payments, including an annual sum of three shillings to the prioress and nuns of St. Elena for the hall called 'la Stapeledehall.'[2]

It has been suggested by an authority in these matters that it is not impossible that *le stapled halle* bore the meaning of *the pillared halle*, that is, a *halle* supported upon pillars, similar perhaps to the market *halles* even now frequently to be met with in old towns in Normandy.

[1] *Letter Books of the City of London*, E., p. 251. R. R. Sharpe.
[2] *Ibid.*

But the three *stapled halles* above mentioned were situated, it will be noticed, at the great trade gates, so to speak, of the ancient city, a circumstance which seems to suggest that they were placed there for particular uses.

In a letter, dated 10th March 1623, from Emanuel Downing to John Coke, Esq., then one of the Masters of Requests under James I., but Secretary of State in 1625, at a time when the question of monopolies was being much debated, the following sentences occur: 'The Merchants pleading antiquity caused me to send to your Worship the order of their institution. The Company of the Staplers began about four hundred years past, *tempore Ed.* 3. The main cause of their first institution was to see the custom duly paid.'[1]

Evidently Emanuel Downing was not always successful in subtracting correctly; four hundred years before 1623 takes us back to one hundred years earlier than *tempore Ed.* 3; but we may suppose that he had seen the order in question, and rightly drawn a conclusion as to their origin, *to see the custom duly paid.*

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission Twelfth Report*, Part I. vol. i. p. 60.

CHAPTER III

STAPLE INN AS A 'SELD' AND CUSTOM HOUSE

THE exact spot of John Brown's *halle* cannot be identified, but the position of the house which succeeded it is set forth in Letters Patent of Richard II. to John le Chircheman, mercer and sheriff of London, dated 24th September 1386, granting that 'as he has at great expense newly erected a house upon the quay called Wollewharf in the Tower ward in the parish of All Hallows, Berkyngecherche, London, between Paul Salesbury's quay on the east and the lane called Watergate on the west, for the service of the king's petty custom in the port of London and his customs officers, controllers and clerks, the said customs shall be collected and kept there during the said John's life, as much being yearly paid to him for the said easement as for other houses similarly used heretofore.' Over the *computatorium*, that is, the counting and weigh-house, he erected, we are told, a *sollar* or upper floor '38 feet long by 21½ feet broad, containing two chambers and a garrett as a further easement for the customs officers, controllers and clerks.' It is also stated that this house was for the tronage of wools. And it may be interesting to know that on 8th May 1382, a grant was made during the king's pleasure to Geoffrey Chaucer, who was then Clerk of the Works at Westminster Abbey, of the office of controller of the said custom 'with the accustomed fees and the cocket seal, he to execute the office in person or by a sufficient deputy.'[1]

In 1518, Christopher Rawson, mercer and merchant of the Staple at Calais, whose will was proved in the Court of Hustings, bequeathed his wharfs and houses called the 'Old Wolle Kay' in

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*: Richard II.

the parish of All Hallows, Barking, in trust for John, Thomas, and Richard, his sons.

Richard Starcolf of Holborn Bars, originally a Norfolk man,[1] who was buried under a handsome tomb in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, was also a mercer, that is one who, in the times of Edward III., would have dealt in wools and woollen goods. The chronicler, Froissart, who wrote about fifty years after Starcolf's death, refers in his great work to 'clothe, furres, and other mercery.' The Company of Mercers was already in existence in the year 1214, their earliest known master being Richard Searle, generally known as Serlo le Mercer, who in the same year became Mayor of London, a post which he again held with considerable distinction for another six years, from 1217 to 1222.

The land upon which Starcolf's tenement was built would probably have been held on lease, and the tenement itself would probably have been of the same character as a 'seld'; that is, it was a large roomy warehouse let in apartments to merchants for the storage of goods to be sold in the market of Portepol, the Bishop of Ely's Fair. But it might also have been partly occupied by 'apprentices of the law,' and have been used as an occasional court of justice.

Many of the selds in the City enclosed vacant patches of ground which might be let separately. The 'larga selda,' or great seld of Lady Roisia de Coventre, which was situate in the 'Mercery' of Chepe, contained such 'a place of ground,' which was let in 1318 for twenty shillings a year;[2] and Leden-halle, which at this period was owned by Sir John de Nevyll and was used as a poultry market, contained not only a garden but a court (*curia*) which was paved. 'Le Spicery' in the Chepe was another important seld. So was 'le Tanere-selde,' in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, which in 1340 belonged to John le Usscher, a tanner, and was used exclusively by citizens of his trade. The same John Usher also owned a brewhouse in Secollane, that is,

[1] *History of Norfolk*, vol. ii. pp. 463, 492. F. Blomefield, 1805.

[2] *Memorials of London*, p. 134. H. T. Riley, 1868. *Cal. Corp. Letter-Books*, E., p. 119.

Seacoal Lane, which then led from Fleet Wharf; another brew-house in Holeburne Strete called 'ye Leden-pentitz'; and some houses and shops, occupied by fellow-tradesmen, in Wenagaynlane, that is Wind-again or Turn-again Lane, 'upon Holeburne-streame in the parish of St. Sepulchre.'[1] It should here be pointed out, in case of misconception, that Leden-halle and Leden-pentitz had nothing to do with a lead market; *leden* means tenements, *halle* is an *inn*, and *pentiz* is Anglo-French for a shed or pent-house.[2] But in 1463, as we shall finally see, Leadenhall did succeed 'le stapled halle' as the market of the wool-staplers, after they had experienced an intermediate and troublous existence at St. Stephen's, Westminster, 'to have the laying up, placing, and housing of wools,' and the fees and profits connected therewith, and 'to have the same' as the charter says 'without rendering anything to the king.'

We may imagine therefore that six hundred years ago Staple Inn was a collection of tenements inclosing 'a place of ground' as it does to-day.

We may also conclude that here the custom was levied upon goods coming from the west, and that here they were weighed and troned. In a charter of Henry III. to the citizens of London, dated 12th March 1268, he grants 'that no merchant or other do meet any merchants coming *by land or water* with their merchandises or victuals towards the city to buy and sell again till they come to the said city and there have put the same to sale upon forfeiture of the things bought and pain of imprisonment; from whence he shall not escape without great punishment. *And that none may show out their wares to sell who owe any custom until the custom thereof be levied without great punishment* and upon pain or forfeiture of all that commodity of him that happens to do otherwise. And that no merchant stranger or other may buy or sell any wares which ought to be weighed or troned unless by our beams or trone upon forfeiture of the said wares.'[3]

[1] *Court of Hustings Wills*, p. 446. R. R. Sharpe.
[2] *The 'Times' Century Dictionary.*
[3] *Historical Charters of the City of London.* W. De Gray Birch, 1887.

The trone was a post, generally of wood, supporting a horizontal beam from which scales were hung for the weighing of wool and other articles.

In his *Survey of London* John Stow mentions the 'common beam for weighing of wool and other wares' in use in Leadenhall in his youth, and tells us, in describing the *halle*, that 'the remnant of the sides and quadrants was employed for the storage of wool sacks, but not closed up'; 'the residue of the lofts were letten

MERCHANT'S MARK, FROM A WINDOW IN STAPLE HALL.

out to merchants, the woolwinders and packers therein, to wind and pack their wools.'[1]

This picture of Leadenhall, customs-house and wool-house in Henry VIII.'s reign, may be equally true of *le stapled halle* at Holborn Bars at the time of Starcolf's death in 1333, in the reign of Edward III.

Gerard Malyns, referring to the merchants of the Staple in his book on the law-merchant, says: 'The places of residence of these merchants, both within the land and beyond the seas, were called Staples. The laws and ordinances made by the said merchants were called staple-laws. Under their government, consisting of a

[1] *Survey of London.* John Stow. P. 60, ed. 1603, reprinted 1876.

Mayor, two Constables, and other officers, hath the trade of this kingdom time out of mind flourished to the great enriching of the kings and kingdom.'

From this extract we may learn that it was the places where the commodities were sold that were originally known as staples, not the commodities themselves. To-day, we say, cotton is the staple of Manchester, but in those days we should have said, Manchester is the staple, that is, the market, for cotton.

'At these Staples,' continues Malyns, 'were the king's customs duly collected and by the officers of the Staple at two several times (in the year) paid into the Exchequer.'[1]

[1] *The Ancient Law-Merchant*, part III. chap. xx., pub. 1662.

CHAPTER IV

STAPLE INN AS A PIE-POWDER COURT

THE Court of Hustings was a court held in a house to distinguish it from one held in the open air, which latter came to be known as a court of pie-powder. The word pie-powder was a corruption of the French *pied-poudre*, foot-dust; hence it meant a court held on the dusty ground, an idiom of even greater lucidity than the expression 'open air.' The Saxon king, Edgar, in days when monarchs carried their courts with them on their itineraries, may often have sat in a foot-dust stapol or market and adjudicated upon civil and criminal causes.

Jacob Grimm in his *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (804) quotes in three places from the *Lex Ripuaria* 'regis staplus (stapfolus)' as a place of judgment. In one passage the words run—'ad regis staplum, vel ad eum locum ubi mallus est.' John Earle, commenting on this passage, says: 'In the sense of judgment-seat, seat of judicature, we see the *stapol* still surviving in the elevated seats of the judges in the law Courts.'[1]

We may well imagine that as the Hustings might be held in any house, there being none at first specially set apart for that purpose, 'le stapled halle' at Holborn Bars was, in a later age than Edgar's, a temporary or occasional court which witnessed not only the record of many a mercantile bargain and its attendant taxes, but also the juridical settlement of many a mercantile dispute. Evidence exists that Leden-halle was sometimes used as a court of justice, because about this very period, in 1302,

[1] *Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, p. 467. J. Earle, 1888. See also Maigne D'Arnis and Du Cange for meaning of 'mallus' = Public assembly in the days of the old Franks; tribunal, court of justice, market-place.

thirty years before Starcolf's death, we have a record of an interesting criminal cause which was tried there, in which a certain John le Chaucer (John the shoemaker), supposed to be the father of Richard Chaucer, grandfather of Geoffrey Chaucer, was complainant in a case of assault.'[1]

The following charter of Henry III., dated 26th March 1268, may perhaps throw clearer light upon the particular purposes of a pie-powder court in those days:—'HENRY, by the grace of God, King of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine; to his faithful archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, sheriffs, justices, rulers, ministers and all bailiffs and his faithful subjects greeting: KNOW ye that we have granted to our citizens of London . . . that none of them shall be compelled to plead out of the walls of the said city for anything except foreign tenures [that is, tenures outside the walls] and except our moneyers and officers, and except those things which shall be done against our peace, which according to the common law of the realm are wont to be determined in those parts where those trespasses were done, *and except pleas concerning merchandises which are wont to be determined according to the law merchant in boroughs and fairs. . . .*' This obviously means that market-houses and market-places were used as occasional courts of law.

The Saxon kings and their successors had their markets all over England. But in the vicinity of their particular demesnes, whether in the cities or without, so had the Bishops of the Church: hence at Portepol (Holborn Bars) we get the Bishop of Ely's Fair; so had the Abbots and Abbesses of the Monasteries and Nunneries: hence we get Stapleford-Abbots, Co. Essex; so had the territorial lords: hence we get Staple-Fitzpaine, Co. Dorset; so had the towns: hence we get Staplegate, Canterbury. In a charter of Henry I., undated, but probably of the year 1101, he says that he has granted to his citizens of London that 'all the men of London shall be quit and free, and all their goods, throughout all England, of and from all toll and passage, and lastage and all other customs; *and the Churches and Barons and*

[1] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, fol. 61. Guildhall Library.

citizens shall and may peaceably and quietly have and hold their sokes [that is, liberty of jurisdiction over the court held within their demesnes] *with all their customs; so that strangers that shall be lodged in the sokes shall give custom to none but to him to whom the soke appertains or his officer whom he shall put there.*' This officer was in Saxon times called the Soke-reeve; just as he whom we now call the Lord Mayor was known as the Porte-reeve, and the Sheriff was the Shire-reeve. Even the soke-reeve would have power, subject to his lord's confirmation, to inflict the death penalty upon any of his lord's villeins, that is, upon men who were not what was called law worthy.'[1]

In the time of Edward the Confessor there was a lord of Stapleton-on-Tees of the name of Herman, evidently a man of German origin, and probably one of the foreign merchants known as Emperor's men, to distinguish them from the Rouen men who came from Normandy. His grandson, Sir John de Stapleton, was Controller of the Household of King Stephen. But this was not the only town of the name of Stapleton, nor of course was it the only town where staple wares might be brought for sale; for at the present time there are still seven Stapletons existing, eight Staplefords, a Staple-bridge, cross, field, gate, grove, hill, hurst, and Tor, besides a Staple Fitz Paine and a Staple Tawney, a Barnstaple and a Dunstable, which carry our minds back, so to speak, to an age when people spoke of staples and staple wares instead of their equivalent terms of Latin origin, markets, merchandise, and commodities.

In all those markets and fairs a court of pie-powder was held, and the powers exercised by those appointed over those courts was in some cases remarkable. Wm. Prynne, in his *Animadversions Concerning the Jurisdiction of Courts*, published 1661, refers to the extraordinary powers given to the Bishops of Ely and Winchester in their markets.[2] He says, 'the longest Fair and strangest Power to make Justices and Coroners equal to Kings

[1] *Historical Charters.* Birch, 1887.

[2] *Close Rolls, Ely*, 13 Edw. II. m. 6. *Patent Rolls*, Winchester, 2 Edw. IV. p. 6, m. 6.

and Mayors in the City and to hold such an exorbitant court of pie-powder I ever met with is that of the Bishop of Winchester kept for 24 days together on St. Giles Hill near that City.'

For each Staple or mart there was an officer appointed who was called the Meter or Corrector of the Staple. He was the Plantagenet successor of the Saxon *soke-reeve*, and his duties were to measure, test or value the goods, apportion the tax and register the bargains which were made between local and outside merchants. For instance, on 11th July 1369, John Wirhale, Roger Cooke, Henry Cornwaille, and Geoffrey Prudhomme were chosen to hold the office of Meters of the sea-coal coming into the City of London, and were sworn before the Mayor that they would 'well and trustily make measures of coal so coming thither, taking for their trouble as from of old they were wont, etc. And they gave sureties that they would well and trustily do all things which unto the said office pertain.'[1] In such an important emporium as London, the Corrector or Meter of the Staple would require, no doubt, a large staff of assistants with legal knowledge; and, no doubt, disputants would be glad to make use of experts in law-merchant to argue their case before him; and inasmuch as no school of law nor Inn of Apprentices of the law was permitted within the walls of the City, but only in what were then known as the suburbs, we can well imagine that Staple Inn was already a nucleus of the legal profession and was used at times as a pie-powder court.

[1] *Memorials of London*, p. 338: H. T. Riley, 1868.

CHAPTER V

THE SURROUNDINGS OF STAPLE INN IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD II

It happened that during the reign of the earlier English Kings the collector of the custom at Portpool, where *le stapled halle* was situated, was, as often as not, the private steward of one of the principal officers of the King's Chancery. During the absence of Richard I. from England upon his crusade, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, was not only owner of the Fair held at the Bar of the Old Temple in Holborn but was also Papal Legate, Lord Chancellor, the Chief of the Exchequer, the Chief Justiciar, and also one of the Regency, whilst he exercised almost regal authority over the City of London, trenching upon their time-honoured privileges to such a degree as to cause a rising against him. Several of his successors in the Bishopric also became Chancellors, and in Starcolf's time the post was held by a Bishop of Ely named Sir John de Hothum. On the 18th June 1318, the king (Edward II.) delivered the great seal, we are told, to Sir John de Hothum, Bishop of Ely, his Chancellor, who opened it at his inn in Holeburn, London, on the Monday following, immediately after dinner, in the presence of the Clerks of Chancery and sealed writs with it.[1]

The Bishops of Ely had their inn on the north side of Holborn and to the east of the market of Portpool, afterwards known as Brooke Market, which extended partly over the site now occupied by the offices of the Prudential Assurance Company. *Porte* is a Saxon word of Latin origin, meaning both market and gate; *pol* is the Saxon form of *pool*. The site of the pool is probably now

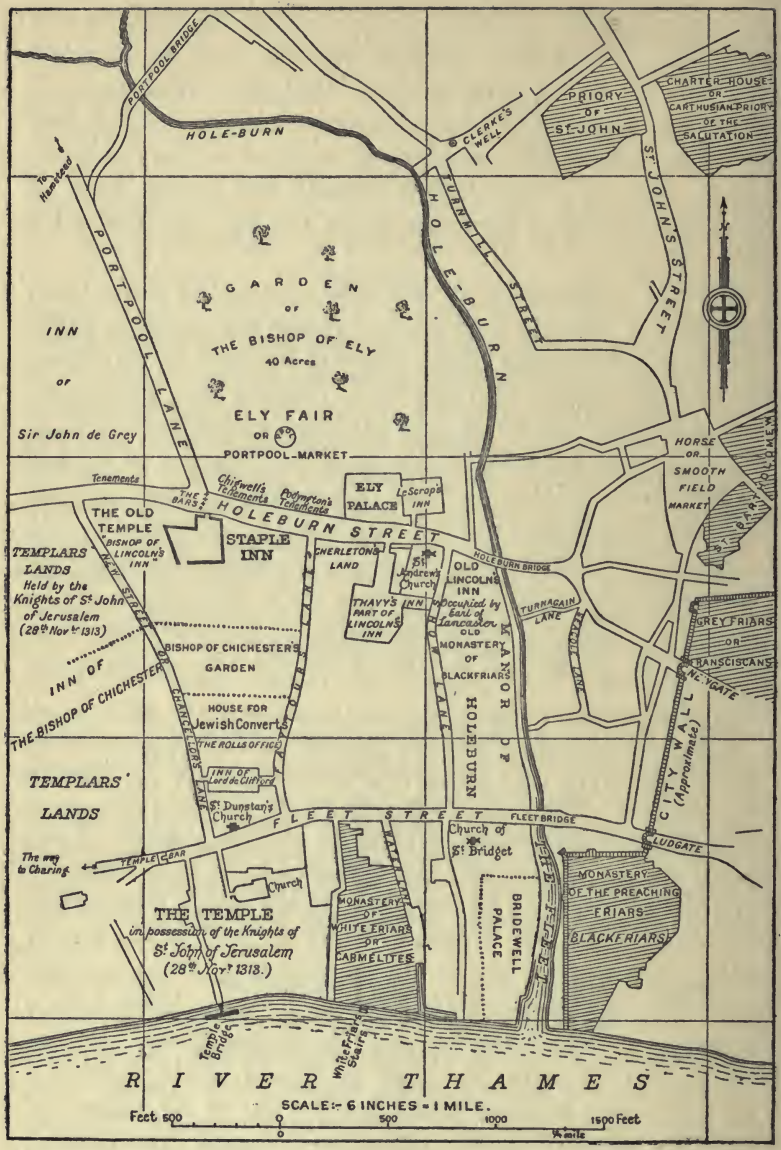
[1] *Close Rolls*, 11 Edward II. m. 3d.

represented by the northern courtyard of the offices of the said Company. This, however, may be uncertain, for it has been said the pool was on the property of the De Greys.[1] But when the Prudential buildings were being constructed evidence was afforded of a large pond having once been in existence in the said courtyard. John of Gaunt, Earl of Lincoln and second Duke of Lancaster, resided in Ely Palace during the last few years of his life.

Two of the Bishops of Ely had their wills proved in the Court of Hustings. That of Sir John de Kyrkeby was proved in 1290; he left to the bishopric all his houses at Holeburn in the suburb of London, together with his vines, gardens, etc.; the present Kirby Street, Vine Street, and Ely Place survive to perpetuate his memory and the site of his property. The will of his successor, Master William de Luda, was proved in 1298; he also, like his predecessors, left all his houses in Holeburn to the bishopric.[2] Neither of these men was Chancellor, but both were Treasurers of the Exchequer, and as such were officials of the Chancery. Kirkby was also what would in later days have been called Lord Keeper, he being entrusted with the custody of the Great Seal.

The King's Chamberlain, who collected his dues in London, afterwards paying them into the Exchequer, also had his domicile in Holeburn. Domesday Book tells us, in the year 1087, under the heading of Holeburn, that 'William the Chamberlain renders yearly to the king's sheriff six shillings for the land where his vineyard is situated.' In the year 1320 the King's Chamberlain was a man of the name of John de Cherleton, M.P. for the City in 1318 and a wealthy mercer, whose property in shops occupied much the same position as the frontage of Messrs. Wallis & Co.'s premises, between Fetter Lane and St. Andrew Street. On the 1st March 1511 a grant was made to Thomas Warde of thirteen tenements with gardens, of the yearly value of £5, situate on the south side of Holborn, opposite the Bishop of Ely's mansion

[1] *St. Giles in the Fields*, map, p. 160. John Parton, 1822.
[2] *Court of Hustings Wills*. R. R. Sharpe.



SURROUNDINGS OF STAPLE INN IN A.D. 1313.

and abutting on Fetter Lane, parcel of the lands of Sir Richard Charleton, attainted.[1]

But besides being the King's Chamberlain, John de Cherleton was also 'Mayor of the merchants of the Staple in Wools,' and was associated with Hamo de Chygwelle, then Mayor of London and a mercer, in a commission appointed by the king, to inflict fines on all persons found to have committed offences against the statute regulating the purchase and export of wools and woolfells, and to *bring them into chancery*. A man named William de Cherlton, who may have been related to John, was, in 1307, a Baron of the Exchequer and Deputy Treasurer; and a Robert de Cherleton was in 1387 Chief-Justice of the Common Bench.

The other chief officers of the revenue or exchequer resided in close proximity. The De Greys, who at this period held the manor of Portepol in fee-farm from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and who in a later age conveyed it to the Society of Gray's Inn, lived almost opposite to Staple Inn.

The following is part of the rent-roll of Master Henry de Iddesworth, Prebendary of St. Paul's for Holborn and Portpool in the year before Starcolf died: 'Of land called Hoggynde held by Henry Doky, 22d. Of land opposite held by Hugo Wylly, 5s. Of one acre which is called Swynacre held by John Morne, 12d. Of the house of John Podyngton, in Portepol, 2d. Of the tenement in Portepol which is held by William de Merseye, chaplain, 3s. Of John Ewer for his tenement in Portepol, 5s. Of the tenement of Robert de Chygwelle near the gate of the Bars, 21d. Of the lands of Sir John Grey the half of 2s. 1d. Of the tenement of the Bishop of Ely, 22s. Of the same Bishop for lands and vines which are held by the Bishop of Chester the half of 2s. 1d.' The total was £4, 5s. 2d.

Malcolm, who gives these particulars in his *Londinium Redivivum*,[2] only accounts for £2, 1s. 2d. out of the £4, 5s. 2d.; but he supplies sufficient information to suggest that the number of houses in Holborn could not have been very great in the year

[1] *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, A.D. 1511. Brewer.
[2] *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iii. p. 20. J. M. Malcolm, 1803.

1332; it was probably less than two hundred, but it must be recognised that several of these were inns accommodating societies of law students and perhaps of other apprentices.

Sir John de Grey mentioned above was Justiciar and the Bishop of Chester was Treasurer; they seem to have 'gone halves' in one property. The De Grey family held for several centuries some of the most important law offices under the crown. The first member of the family of note was Walter de Grey, who in 1206 purchased the Chancellorship from King John for 5000 marks.[1]

The lands of the De Greys had once belonged to a man named Simon *de Gardino de Portepol* (the garden of Portpool), who died in 1280, and bequeathed 'to Richard de Chygwelle, who married his daughter, his house situate within Holborn Bars.'[2] This Richard de Chygwelle was Alderman of London in 1281 and was a wealthy mercer. He received license to export his wool on the 12th May 1273; and at a time of scarcity, on the 19th November 1283, he was granted safe-conduct for his ships for one year, his men and his merchants, to buy corn along the coast for sale in London. He died in 1294, enfeoffing the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of property of which they in turn enfeoffed Sir Reginald de Grey, the King's Justiciar and the father of Sir John.

Robert de Chygwelle, the son, became King's Clerk in Chancery, and was employed in matters of secrecy in Ireland and elsewhere; he was made Prebendary of St. Paul's and of Hereford 'on the ground of his good service to the King and Queen Philippa.' In 1338, the king having been granted by Parliament 20,000 sacks of wool 'for the furtherance of his business,' a grant of somewhat frequent occurrence, Robert de Chygwelle was appointed 'to hasten the purveyance of the wool,' and in 1339, 'in further consideration of his services to the King and Queen Philippa,' he was made Prebendary of Salisbury and of Wells, Somerset. In the same year Queen Philippa had written to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's desiring them to confirm 'to her Chancellor, Robert de Chygwelle,' for life, a lease from Henry de Iddesworth of

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors.*
[2] *Court of Hustings Wills*, p. 48.

certain houses in Ivy Lane, London, upon which he is otherwise unwilling to carry out certain improvements.[1] He died without an heir and his property escheated to the king. It seems curious that any one man should have been Queen's Chancellor, a clerk in the king's Chancery, a wool-dealer, Prebendary of several cathedrals and holder of several rectories in the country at one and the same time.

What the king did with 'the tenement (or holding) of Robert de Chygwelle near the gate of the Bars' when it became his escheat is uncertain, but we may be almost sure that he would have given it to some other of his clerks or justices. It is not at all unlikely to be the same property as is mentioned in the inquisition on the death of Justice Richard Hankeford, son of Chief-Justice William Hankeford, taken at the Guildhall the 24th May 1431, before Nicholas Wotton, mayor of the City of London and escheator there. The jurors say that Richard Hankeford on the day of his death held jointly with Anne his wife, who survives, a messuage, four shops and one garden annexed to the said messuage, in Holborn, in the suburb of London, within the liberty of the said city, of the demise of John Gascoigne, John Davernoun, William Blench, and Thomas Cowyke. The said premises are held of the king in free burgage (as the whole of the city of London is held) and are worth yearly clear £6. He died on the 8th February last past, etc., etc. Thomasina, aged eight years and more, Elizabeth, aged seven years, and Anne, aged twelve weeks and more, are his daughters and next heirs.[2]

The name of the celebrated Judge Gascoigne was William, but John Gascoigne may well have been a relative and perhaps a Justice. Anne Hankford married the Earl of Ormond, their daughter married Sir William Boleyn, and the latter's granddaughter, Anne Boleyn, was mother of Queen Elizabeth. Thomasine Hankeford, the eldest daughter, married Sir William Bourchier, third son of Count D'Eu, by his wife Anne Planta-

[1] British Museum, Harl. Charters, 43 E 10.
[2] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, Series I. 9 Henry VI. 54.

genet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock and granddaughter of Edward III.

Thus this property passed into the hands of Sir William Bourchier, whose two elder brothers were Henry, Earl of Essex, Treasurer, etc., Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose grandson and eventual heir, John Bourchier, was created Earl of Bath in 1536. The large house which was built upon this site was from this date called Bath House, but about 1623 it passed into the possession of Lord Brooke, who rebuilt it under the name of Brooke House;[1] and Brooke Street, Holborn, now perpetuates the memory of its former existence. The older part of the offices of the Prudential Assurance Company is built upon its garden.

The surroundings of Staple Inn in the reign of Edward II. must be dealt with in further detail under separate chapters.

[1] *London, Past and Present.* H. B. Wheatley.

CHAPTER VI

CASTLE STREET AND THE OLD TEMPLE

THE name of Castle Street (now Furnival Street) is quite modern, but it represents a property which in the reign of Edward III. was in the joint tenure of the king's justices, one of whom was Robert de Charleton, Chief Justice of Common Bench. Its garden was bounded on the west by that of Staple Inn.

A grant was made of a part of this property in the year 1370 in the following terms. 'For 50 marks the king [Edward III.] gives licence to Thomas Conbrigge and William Camme to alienate in mortmain three messuages with the appurtenances in the parish of St. Andrew of Holburn in the suburb of London, which are held of the king in burgage, and which are worth yearly in all issues according to the true value 10 marks [£6, 13s. 4d.] (as is found by an inquisition made thereof by James Andrew, late Mayor and escheator of the City of London, taken by the king's order and returned into chancery) to the Abbot and Convent of Malmesbury, to hold to them and their heirs of the king and his heirs for finding six lights every day in their abbey church at the mass of the Blessed Mary for ever. Witnessed at Westminster by the King. 1st March.'[1]

Seventeen years later, on the 15th June 1387, the king (Richard II.)[2] gave 'licence, for 10 marks paid to the king by the Abbot of Malmesbury, for the alienation by Robert de Cherleton (then Chief Justice of Common Pleas), John atte Mulle and William Camme of the reversion of a messuage and garden in the parish of St. Andrew of Holeburn in the suburb of London, held

[1] *Patent Roll*, 43 Edward III., Part I. m. 26.
[2] *Ibid.*, 10 Richard II., Part I. m. 12.

of the king in burgage, which Gaillard Pete, citizen of London, holds for his life with remainder to Roger his son, if he survive him; and by the said Robert, Richard Maunciple, John Sutton, John Aldurley, and John Parkere of the reversion of a messuage, shop and garden in the same parish similarly held, which Walter de Barton, citizen and tanner of London, and Joan his wife hold for their lives and one year after, to the said Abbot and Convent for finding a light to burn daily for ever before the high altar in their Abbey Church.'

We may conclude that these two properties lay in close proximity to the grant of 1370; all three forming together a fairly large holding. The fact that the king's justices were concerned in the conveyance of the property suggests that the conveyance was a transfer from the use of the king's court to the use of the Monastery.

In 1526 the Monastery demised their property in Holborn to Thomas Dalton for fifty years at a rent of £4. The said Thomas agreed to allow the Abbot and Monks of the said Monastery to use the houses of the principal inn (hospicium) there 'late called Bere Aley and now called Castell Aleye, namely the Hall with its furnishings, if any, the chapel and four chambers formerly used as butteries, a kitchen and sufficient stabling, with a little garden and the grass growing there adjoining the said inn, and liberty to walk in the great garden at their will as often as they should come to London, to stay there at their pleasure, notice of their coming to be given.'

At the dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, the Abbey of Malmesbury was turned into a cloth factory, and in 1542 John Beaumont applied to the Court of Augmentation for leave to purchase the farm of all the lands, tenements, etc., which the Monastery had held in the Parish of St. Andrew in Holborn together demised to Thomas Dalton. 'Castell Aley' became known as Castle Yard, then as Castle Street and finally as Furnival Street, the latter name being quite inappropriate and misleading.[1]

[1] *Augmentation Office Particulars for Grants*, 36 Henry VIII., No. 105.

On the other side of Staple Inn stood the old building, which had once belonged to the knights of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, commonly known as the Knights Templars. They arrived in England about 1128, building a round church, similar to that at present existing off Fleet Street, next to what became Staple Inn, with habitations and a garden extending to what is now Chancery Lane. They removed to the Thames in 1186, when they sold their property in Holborn to the Bishopric of Lincoln. Henry II. confirmed the transaction by a 'grant to the Church of the Blessed Mary, Lincoln, and to Robert, bishop of the said church, and to his episcopal successors, of the houses which belonged to the brethren of the Temple in London, in the parish of St. Andrew of Holeburn, with the chapel and garden and all their appurtenances, for which the said Robert de Kaineto, Bishop of Lincoln, had given to the brethren of the Temple one hundred marks, rendering unto the said brethren annually three *aureos* for all services.'[1]

In 1320 Henry Burghersh was nominated by the Pope as Bishop of Lincoln. But the king, Edward II., had taken possession of the property of the bishopric and was loth to part with it. Subject to pressure, however, he seems to have issued, on the 5th August 1320, a 'mandate to Richard de Rodeneye, escheator on this side Trent, for the restitution of the bishopric of Lincoln to Henry de Burghersh, a canon of York whose preferment by Pope John XXII. to bishopric of Lincoln the king has accepted.' A memorandum was subsequently recorded that the temporalities of the bishopric had been in the king's hands from the 12th January to the 5th of August of that year.[2]

Burghersh seems to have taken up his residence here for a time, but having quarrelled with the king, he was once more deprived of the property, which was again retained by the king for his own uses. On the 27th of March 1324, however, William de Weston, escheator in the counties of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Middlesex, received an 'order to deliver to Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, or to

[1] *Cotton MS.*, Vespas. E. XVI. f. 14*b*.
[2] *Patent*, 14 Edward II., Part I., m. 23.

his attorney, his lands in the town of Stutyng, Co. Kent, and the Old Temple, London, and all other lands of the bishopric in the escheator's bailiwick, as the king has restored the temporalities of the see to the Bishop, at the request of the prelates, earls, and other magnates of the realm.'[1] In 1328 the new king, Edward III., or rather the Queen-mother's paramour, Mortimer, created him Chancellor.

Burghersh was deprived of the Chancellorship in 1330, one of the charges against him being his abuse of his ecclesiastical patronage. It seems that the livings in the Chancellor's gift were intended as a provision for the clerks of the different courts of justice (who at that time were clergy), but Burghersh sold them or gave them away to favourites; whereupon an order was made in Parliament that 'the Chancellor should give the livings in his gift, rated at twenty marks and under, to the King's Clerks in Chancery, the Exchequer and the two Benches, *according to usage*, and to none other.' (20 marks=£13, 6s. 8d.)[2]

Strictly speaking, the Temple was the Church only, but in common parlance the term has included the dwellings round it. It is possible, therefore, that some of the tenements attached to Staple Inn before it received that name, may have been occupied by the humbler brethren of the Order at times when distinguished donors to the Temple, and their followers from the country or the continent, visited the knights and received lodging, as they frequently did. Hence the statement sometimes made that Staple Inn was originally part of the Old Temple may receive some degree of confirmation. Amongst the deeds in possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's there is an inrolment of a grant to the Chapter by James, son of Ricard, of land which Bruningus, or his heirs, held of him, *within* the Bar of Holeburn, *fronting* the land of the Templars,[3] which seems to imply that the land of the Templars extended eastwards so as to include the site of the present Staple Inn. But early English legal documents are not

[1] *Close Rolls*, 17 Edward II., m. 16, Schedule.
[2] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*.
[3] *Hist MSS. Commission*, Appendix to Ninth Report, Part I., 3*a*.

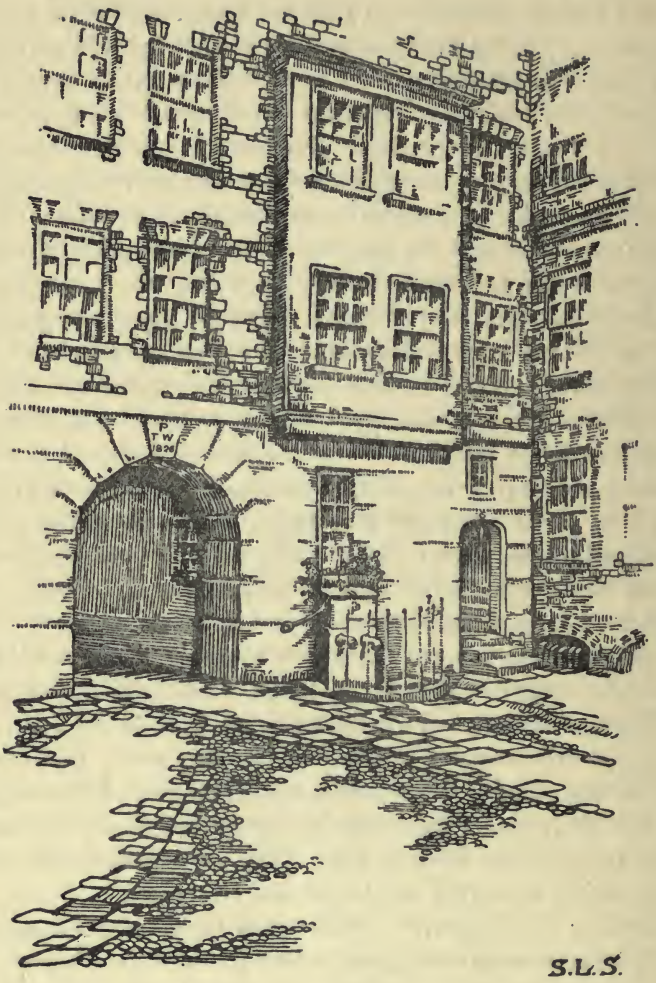
very precise in their description of property, and 'fronting' may not mean exactly in front.

The Bishops continued to hold the property until the time of Edward VI. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of the reign of Henry VIII. the Dean and Chapter entered forty shillings yearly as 'the fee of David Griffiths, custodian of the Inn of the Lord Bishop, called the Old Temple, in London.' But there is a curious comment added in the margin, 'Cancelled, because not allowed, by instructions,' the meaning of which it is difficult to elucidate. It is certain, however, that the Inn was in the possession of the See; because, in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., on August 30th, licence was given to 'Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, to grant to the king's well-beloved kinsman, John Dudley, knight of the garter, Earl of Warwick, great Chamberlain of England, and to Sir Edward North, knight, his messuage called Lincoln Place in Holborne in the parish of S. Andrew, next the city of London, with all and singular its appurtenances in the county of Middlesex and also all his houses, edifices, barns, stables, dovecotes, pools, vivaries, gardens, apple orchards, yards, lands and soil whatsoever in the parish of S. Andrew and in the parish of S. Dunstan. To hold to them and their heirs for ever in socage by fealty only for all rents, services and demands whatsoever to the use of the said John Dudley.'[1] The said John was afterwards created Earl of Northumberland, and was the father of Lady Jane Grey. He conveyed the property within two or three years to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor, who occupied a house between the ruins of the old round Chapel and Chancery Lane and who died there in 1550. This was demolished in 1638 to make way for eighty new houses and one tavern.

Birkbeck Buildings and Southampton Buildings, which respectively commemorate the memory of an educational reformer and of a famous Chancellor, might by their older name remind us of the still more famous knights of the Temple.

We have seen that the king's justices held the property on the

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward VI., Part VI., m. 37.



EXIT FROM STAPLE INN INTO HOLBORN, SHOWING THE PUMP.

east side of Staple Inn, and that the Old Temple and its garden occupied the area on its west side. A document may now be mentioned which may carry the history of the site of Staple Inn back to the year 1204, when a Fine was levied respecting 'one acre of land in Holeburne, next the Old Temple without the Bar.' The words 'without the Bar' must be taken as referring to the Temple and not to the acre of land. The parties to the fine were Reginald Purcell and Edith Purcell. 'Reginald quit claims all right in this land to Edith Purcell, and she releases to him all her claim, as dower, in the free tenement of William Purcell, father of the said Reginald. This agreement was made in the presence of William, son of Stephen, who had a charter of the said William [Purcell] of 9 acres of land in Fulham contained in the dower of the said Edith; his right in this he quit claims for himself and his heirs for ever and Reginald gives him half a mark of silver.'[1]

The tenement referred to, though 'free,' would nevertheless have been held of some lord, and we may fairly conclude that the tenancy was subject to 'uses,' similar probably to such as Staple Inn was latterly put to, the holder paying no rent to any lord but only services as to those uses.

[1] *Feet of Fines; London and Middlesex.* W. J. Hardy and W. Page.

CHAPTER VII

THE INN OF THE BISHOP OF ELY AND FURNIVAL'S INN

THE Bishops of Ely were established on the north side of Holborn earlier than is generally supposed; even in the year 1248 Portepool market was already known as Ely Fair. This market had very considerable influence upon the fortunes of Staple Inn; for although it might have happened that there would have been an Inn at 'the gate of the Bars,' even if there had been no Ely Fair or Portepool market, it could never have acquired the same importance.

The property was extensive, covering as much as forty acres,[1] though not all of it was held in chief, nor was it all acquired at the same time. Various incumbents of the See obtained additional possessions, which they bequeathed to their successors. As a result of their lordship of the market they were also largely interested in the wool trade; and as the tax upon wool was a royal tax, they were brought very much into connection with the Exchequer and the Chancery.

It was in the reign of Edward II. that a dispute took place as to the title to this property. In the year 1303 'on Sunday after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, in the 31st year of the reign of Edward I.' an inquisition had been taken before the sheriffs of London, by the oaths of twelve persons, to see if it was to the king's damage if he gave to Robert, Bishop of Ely, a messuage and nine cottages in Holeburn which were formerly of John de Kirkeby, late bishop of Ely, and which the said John by his will gave to St. Etheldreda and the Bishops of Ely according to the custom of the city of London. They said it would not be to his

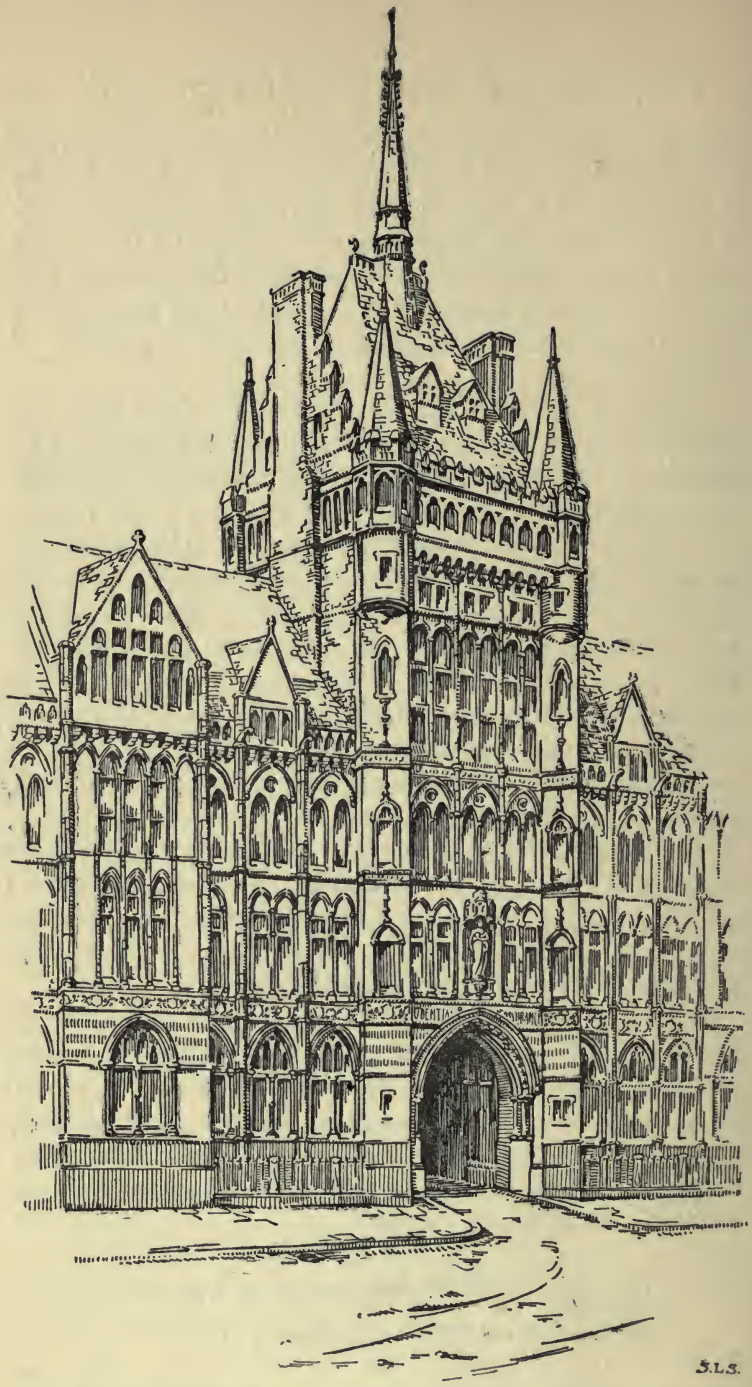
[1] *Inq. p. m.*, 16 Edward II., 33. Hugo Prilly and Margaret his wife.

damage. 'They are worth yearly 72s. 11d., and are held of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's at a rent of 26s., and a rent of 6s. to the hospital of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and a rent of 13s. to Walter Christmesse, Chaplain of the Hospital of S. Giles, and a rent of 4s. 2d. to the Church of S. Andrew de Holeburn, and 15d. to maintain a lamp there, and they say that one place of land where the great gate is, is bound in one sokna to a prebend of S. Paul's.'[1]

In 1321 an inrolment (now in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's) was made before Henry de Stanton and his companions, Justices in Eyre in the Tower of London, concerning the tenement of the Bishop of Ely in Holeburn in the suburbs of London. 'The Assize come to recognise if John de Hotham, Bishop of Ely, unjustly deprived Margaret de Osenille, Walter de Henley, Robert Grimbaud, and Hugh Prill of their freehold in the suburbs of London after the summons of the Eyre. The Bishop appears by Elyas de Asschebourne his attorney. The messuage was long in seisin of John de Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, brother of the said Margaret and uncle of the said Walter, Hugh, and Robert whose heirs they are. John de Kirkeby, by his will, gave it to the Church of Ely and to the Bishops of the See, In consequence William de Luda and Ralph de Walpole, Bishops of Ely, held it, and Robert, afterwards Bishop of Ely, held it; and King Edward, in the thirty-first year of his reign, licensed Robert and his successors to hold it, notwithstanding the statute. The plaintiffs take nothing. The Bishop goes without day.'[2]

Thus the Bishops of Ely were firmly established in their property in Edward II.'s reign, and continued to hold it until 1581 when, during an eighteen years' vacancy of the See, wrongful possession was obtained of it by Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's dancing Chancellor, whose descendant, under Cromwell and Charles II., cut it up into streets, one of which now bears the name of Hatton Garden.[3]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission,* Appendix to Sixth Report, 298*b*.
[2] *Ibid.*, 295 *b*.
[3] *London, Past and Present.* Wheatley.



PART OF THE OFFICES OF THE PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY, ERECTED ON THE SITE OF OLD FURNIVAL'S INN.

Previous to his appointment as Bishop of Ely, William de Luda had held the office of Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward I. The wardrobe would have been the King's store of cloth, etc. Richard de Luda, apparently a relative of the Bishop, acted as the latter's private steward, but he was King's Clerk in Chancery to Edward I. and Edward II., and was appointed by them to be 'controller of the customs of wools, hides, and woolfells in London,' a keeper of the weigh-beam, and one of the keepers of the seal called the 'cocket,' which was used in all staples of wool.[1]

On the 6th July 1311 William Servat, king's merchant, then M.P. for the city and keeper of the Temple, and John de Lincoln, who were collectors of the customs of wool, hides, and woolfells in the port of London, received an 'order to deliver to the king's clerk, Richard de Luda, controller of the said custom, one part of the seal called the cocket, to be kept by him during the king's pleasure, retaining the other part themselves, so that they and the said Richard shall seal letters concerning the said custom.'[2]

To the west of the Bishop of Ely's palace and to the south of his large garden and of the Fair which was held at Portpool, was a small property which ultimately developed into Furnival's Inn.

During the reign of Edward III. this property had come into the hands of the De Furnivals. Joan, the daughter and heiress of William Furnival, married Thomas de Neville, who died in 1407, when by inquisition the property is shown to consist of two messuages and thirteen shops, worth £3, 6s. 8d. yearly. Maude and Joan were his heirs.[3]

Maude married the second son of Richard, Lord Talbot, namely, John Talbot, who was summoned to Parliament as Lord Furnival in 1442, and was created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1446. He died 1453, when by inquisition it was shown that he held a hospicium called Fournyvale's Inn and two tenements with the appurten-

[1] *Close Rolls*, 5 Edward II. m. 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, 4 Edward II. m. 2.
[3] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, 8 Henry IV. No. 62.

ances in the parish of S. Andrew of Holborn, and that his son John was his heir.[1]

At this period the inn must already have been occupied by a Society; for under a will, dated 1457, proved in the Court of Hustings, Wm. Farneham, sporier, bequeathed his brewery, called the Whitehert super le Hoop, for observing an obit for John Courtenay, late Principal of Furnival's Inn.

John Talbot, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, died 10th July 1460. By inquisition it was shown that he held in his demesne as of fee in free burgage (as all the city of London is) a messuage with appurtenances called Furnyvalesyn in the parish of S. Andrew in Holborn, which was worth £4 beyond reprises, and that John, aged twelve at his father's death, was his heir.[2]

John Talbot, third Earl of Shrewsbury, died 1474, leaving a son George then five years old.

George's son and heir, Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, sold the property to the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1548.[3]

In 1640 a new building was designed by Inigo Jones, who also designed Lincoln's Inn Fields and some of its existing houses. This was demolished and rebuilt in 1818 to 1820 by William Peto, who received from the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn a lease of the property for ninety-nine years, dating from the 24th June 1818. On the 20th December 1888 the Prudential Assurance Company purchased from the same Society the freehold and subsequently, from the representatives of Peto, the leaseholds for the erection of their present building.

[1] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, 32 Henry IV. 260.
[2] *Ibid.*, 38 and 39 Henry VI. 58.
[3] *Fines*, 1 Edward VI. Hilary.

CHAPTER VIII

LE SCROPE'S INN AND THE INN OF THE DE GREYS

NEARLY all early writers on the subject of the Inns of Court and Chancery have followed Fortescue in saying that the former came into existence after the latter; that those of Court grew out of those of Chancery but occupied in the end a superior position. It is singular, however, that all the Inns of Chancery of the historical period, except one, were founded after the establishment of Scrope's Inn, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn. That one exception is Staple Inn. Some account, therefore, of the beginnings of the Inns of Court in Edward II.'s reign may help us to form some theory as to what the status of Staple Inn may at one time have been.

What it was that at first constituted the difference between Inns of Court and those of Chancery is unknown, but it will be seen that the three properties just mentioned were really the residences of the three great justices after whom they were named; that is, they had a Court, or official, rather than a popular or a professional, origin; in other words, the law students, in the one case, were the servants (serjeants) or clerks (*i.e.* apprentices) of the highest officials of the King's Law Courts; but in the other case the societies of students more likely had an origin similar in character to that of other craft associations of those days.

Scrope's Inn was situated opposite to St. Andrew's Church. It took its name from the Le Scropes who came into prominence under Edward I. The two brothers were both equally distinguished, and both became Chief Justices of King's Bench, being amongst the first who held that distinctive title. Sir Henry was elevated to the Bench of Common Pleas in 1308, was made

Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1317, and died in 1336. Sir Geoffrey was a soldier and diplomat as well as lawyer; he was Attorney to the King, and was appointed King's Serjeant in 1316, Judge of Common Pleas in 1323, Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1324, and died in 1341.[1]

Sir Geoffrey Le Scrope's daughters, Beatrice and Constance, married respectively Sir Andrew and Sir Geoffrey Lutterel of Lincolnshire.[2] The shield of the latter was blazoned—*Azure, a bend betw. six martlets argent*; and there is a curious resemblance, not to be accounted for, between these arms and those of the brothers De Furnival, one of whom bore—*Or, a bend betw. six martlets gules*, the other—*Argent, a bend betw. six martlets gules*, which latter eventually, within a border azure, became the arms of Furnival's Inn. Subsequently, when the Prudential Assurance Company acquired Furnival's Inn and covered its site with their vast buildings, they obtained the right to incorporate these red martlets on a silver ground as flanches to their own shield—*sa., three bars embattled or*—securing thereby an interesting connection with ancient topographical history.

Richard le Scrope, son of the elder of the two brothers, was created Baron Scrope of Bolton; he died in 1403, having been twice Chancellor of England. He passed the latter part of his life mostly at his Inn, and is said to have died there. Henry le Scrope, son of the younger brother, became first Baron Scrope of Masham; he died in 1391. Thus the families of both the brothers who had attached themselves to Edward II. became ennobled. Their Inn became an Inn for Judges and Serjeants at Law, ranking higher than the Inns of Court, and it continued such until 1498, when the Society of the Inn moved to more convenient quarters in Fleet Street, next to the Temple.[3]

Gray's Inn became a centre for law students most probably towards the end of Edward I.'s reign. The property had come into

[1] *Judges of England.* Edward Foss, 1870.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[3] For the re-feoffment of Scrope's Inn to John, Lord Scrope, by Guy Fairfax, one of the King's Serjeants, see Stow's *Survey*, p. 388, ed. 1603.

the possession of Reginald de Grey in the year 1294 under circumstances already explained, but although he was Justiciar of Chester and often absent from London, he, too, probably had his own following of clerks, resident at his Inn.

He died in the first year of Edward II., in 1307, when an inquisition was taken at which the jurors reported that Reginald le Grey was seised at Portpool of a certain messuage with gardens and one dove house worth 10s. a year, 30 acres of arable land worth 20s. a year, price the acre 8d., and a certain windmill worth 20s., all held of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in chief by the service of 42s. 2d. payable at two terms of the year.[1] A dove house and a windmill seem to have been the usual accompaniments of what was called 'a manor.' It is worth while noting that land in this neighbourhood is now worth a rental of at least 4d. per square foot, that is, of £726 per acre per annum.

Nine years after this event Sir John de Grey created a rent charge upon the property in order to maintain a chaplaincy. An inquisition was held in 1316, at the Stone Cross in the parish of the Blessed Mary at the Strand, whether it would be to the King's damage if he granted permission to John the son of Reginald de Grey to give and assign 30 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 10s. of rent in *le Kentisheton juxta* London, and in the parish of St. Andrew de Holeburne, without the Bar of the Old Temple, to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield to provide a chaplain to perform divine service daily in the church of the manor of the said John de Purtepoole for the souls of the said John, his ancestors, and of all the faithful departed. The jurors recorded it would not be to the king's damage; that the said 30 acres of arable land, 2 acres of meadow, and 10s. rent are holden of Robert de Chiggewell by the service of rendering to the same Robert one rose yearly, and the same Robert holds the said tenements together with others of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the said Dean and Chapter hold the same of the lord the king in pure and perpetual alms.[2]

[1] *Inq. p. m.*, 1 Edward II. 54 m. 11.
[2] *Inq. ad quod Dam.*, 8 Edward II. 169.

A little more than two hundred years after this event King Henry VIII. eliminated the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's from any share in the property. The Dean made an attempt to recover it in Edward VI.'s reign without success.[1]

When the grandson of Sir John de Grey, another Reginald, died on the 28th May 1370 the 'messuage' had become an 'Inn.' For on the 24th June in that year another inquisition was taken at Holeburn, showing that Reginald de Grey de Wilton held a certain Inn in Portpoole near Holeburn with one garden and eleven small shops, together with three acres of land, of the Dean and Chapter of the church of St. Paul by fealty and the service of 32s. 2d. payable at the feast of Easter and St. Michael equally by the year. The Inn, garden, shops and land are worth 100 shillings by the year. Reginald died on the 28th day of May last and Henry de Grey is his son and heir.[2]

Henry, Lord Grey de Wilton, died in 1397, and was found by inquisition to have held no land in Middlesex, because by deed he had enfeoffed Roger Harecourt, William Danbury, John de Broughton, Jun., John Boner, Rector of the Church of Shirland, Henry Babington, and others, whose names the jurors say were unknown to them, of his manor of Portpoole in Holborn called Gray's Inn, by virtue of which feoffment Roger Harecourt and the others are seised of the manor lands and tenements aforesaid, which are holden of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and are worth 100s. by the year.[3]

Roger Harcourt was Justice for Co. Derby, John de Broughton escheator for the counties of Bucks and Beds, and Shirland was one of the De Grey manors.

Obviously this must have been a feoffment in trust, for in the 26th year of Henry VI. (1442) another inquisition was held, showing that Richard Grey de Wilton died seised in his demesne as of fee of the manor of Portpoole in Holborne called Grey's Inne.[4]

[1] *Commission on Historical MSS.*, Ninth Report, appendix to Part I., 55*b*.
[2] *Inq. p. m.*, 44 Edward III. 30 m. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, 19 Richard II. 29.
[4] *Ibid.*, 20 Henry VI. 23.

But it appears likely that the feoffment of 1397 may have been repeated by successive Barons de Grey; for on the 30th November 1506 Edmund, Lord Grey de Wilton, enrolled a deed to the effect that whereas by deed of Reginald de Grey, late Lord de Wilton, dated 30th November 1456, the said Reginald granted to Thomas Bryan, Thomas Ursewyke, Richard Hoton, Roger Barker, Richard Welby, Guy Fairfax, John Clerke, Henry Spylman, John Watnow, Thomas Molyneaux, Thomas Myddleton, Thomas More, John Lamborne, John Crokker, and James Bradman, his manor of Portpool, 'commonly called Greysynne,' who in the following July enfeoffed Thomas Bryan (no doubt in trust for themselves), who on the 29th January 1494-5 enfeoffed John Grey, Lord de Wilton, John Blythe, Master of the Rolls, Reginald Bray, Thomas Rotherham, Thomas Fowler, Thomas Woodmanoye, now deceased, Robert Brudenell, Serjeant-at-law, and Thomas Wodeward, now surviving (clearly a new set of trustees to carry on the same traditions) he, the said Edmund Grey Lord de Wilton confirmed unto the survivors of the said John and the others, namely Robert Brudenell and Thomas Wodeward, the estate and title aforesaid.[1]

Thomas Bryan was a bencher of Gray's Inn and became Chief-Justice of Common Pleas in 1483, Thomas Ursewyke became Chief Baron of Exchequer, Guy Fairfax became Judge of King's Bench, John Clerk became Baron of Exchequer, Henry Spylman became a K.C., and so did John Watnow.[2]

But Edmund, Lord de Grey, had decided completely to part with his property. On the 12th of August in the same year, namely 1506,[3] he had bargained and sold to Hugh Denys the said manor, comprising four messuages, four gardens, the site of a windmill, eight acres of land and ten shillings of rent, and the advowson of Portpool chantry. Whereupon a PLEA OF RECOVERY[4] was entered in the King's Bench between Hugh Denys,

[1] *Exchequer Pleas*, Mich., 22 Henry VII.
[2] *Judges of England*. Foss.
[3] *Close Rolls*, 22 Henry VII., part II.
[4] *Recovery Rolls Common Pleas*, 22 Henry VII.

Edward Dudley, Roger Lupton, clerk, Godfrey Toppes, Edward Chamberlayn, William Stafford, John Erneley, Thomas Pygot, Richard Broke, William Tey, Michael Fysher, by John Jennour, their Attorney, demandants, Robert Brudenell and Thomas Wodeward, the survivors of the previous feoffees, tenants, and Edmund, Lord Grey, vouchee; a FINE[1] was levied in the Michaelmas following to ensure the fee-simple being invested in Hugh Denys and his colleagues; and a RELEASE[2] was granted by the said Edmund, Lord de Grey, as well as by his brothers and successive heirs, Richard Grey, clerk, and John Grey. In the RELEASE of Richard Grey, Mary, the wife of Hugh Denys, is included.

Hugh Denys was Verger of Windsor Castle, Roger Lupton was Provost of Eton and Canon of Windsor, and became Master in Chancery, John Erneley became Chief-Justice of Common Pleas, Thomas Pigot was King's-Serjeant in 1513, Richard Brooke became Judge of Common Pleas.

Hugh Denys died in Dec. 1511, and his will was proved in the Court of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.[3] We learn from it that the same system of enfeoffing others which had been customary with the De Greys had also been adopted by him. He says, 'I will that all such persons as now [have] been feoffed to my use of and in my manors of Osterley, Wyke, Portepele, called Greysynte, lands and tenements in the County of Middx, that they be of them seised to the use of me, my heirs, and assigns, unto such time as the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse at Shene in the County of Surrey, have obtained of the king's grace sufficient licence for the amortisment of the aforesaid manors . . . to have to their use and successors for ever.'

The application by the executors of Denys's will for licence (under mortmain) to alienate the property, resulted, apparently, in the recognition, under *Inquisition ad quod damnum*, that Portpool had escheated to the King by reason of the death, in

[1] *Exchequer Rolls*, Mich., 22 Henry VII.
[2] *Exchequer Placita de Banco*, 22 Henry VII.
[3] *Home Counties Magazine*, Jan. 1904, and P. C. 77 Wyks.

Edward III.'s reign probably, of Robert Chiggewell without an heir; for the necessary authority was at length issued, five years after Denys's decease, giving licence to Thomas Pigot, Richard Broke, John Heron, Roger Lupton, clerk, Godfrey Toppys and Thomas Arthur, the survivors of the second parties in the above conveyance, to alienate to the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Shene the manor of Portepoole and the lands in the parish of St. Andrew of Holborn, and the advowson of the chantry pertaining thereto, escheated by the death of Robert Chigwell without heir, to be held to the annual value of ten marks (£6, 13s. 4d.).[1]

These records show therefore that, before 1397, the De Greys had already enfeoffed others, who may, or may not, have represented the Society of the Inn, with the use of their property, and who apparently successively held it, in trust, jointly with their lords until the 12th of August 1506, when the then Lord Grey sold it outright by a deed which he enrolled the following 30th of November, his brothers, Richard and John, the next heirs, participating in the surrender by concurrent and separate deeds which were also duly enrolled in the prescribed forms.

At the dissolution of the Monasteries a curious situation arose. The arrangement made by Sir John de Grey with the Convent of St. Bartholomew had resulted in the latter paying to the Inn, for the support of the chaplain, £7, 13s. 4d. yearly. This payment was now due from the Crown, whilst the Benchers had to pay *to* the Crown £6, 13s. 4d. formerly due to Shene. The Court of Augmentation[2] squared the accounts by reducing the King's contribution by £1. But the Exchequer ceased making their paymen to the Inn in 1640; the Inn, therefore, ceased making theirs in 1642.[3]

In 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament passed an 'act for selling the fee-farm rents belonging to the Commonwealth of England, formerly payable to the Crown of England, the Duchy of Lancaster and the Duchy of Cornwall'; and under the opera-

[1] *Inq. ad quod Damnum*, 7 Henry VIII.
[2] *Decrees, Court of Augmentation*, 10th Nov., 33 Henry VIII.
[3] *Gray's Inn Pension Book*. R. J. Fletcher, 1901.

tion of this Act the cessation of the above payments was confirmed,[1] until the arrangement was repudiated at the Restoration, when the Crown again claimed its rent, only to sell it subsequently to Sir Philip Matthews. The Society continued to pay the fee farm rent of £6, 13s. 4d. until 1733, when they purchased it from the parties deriving title from the co-heirs of Sir Philip Matthews.[2]

[1] *Gray's Inn Pension Book.* R. J. Fletcher, 1901.
[2] *Gray's Inn*, p. 18. W. R. Douthwaite, 1886.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORIGINAL 'LINCOLN'S INN'

At the north end of Shoe Lane, near, if not actually abutting upon, the street of Holborn and quite close to Holeburn Bridge, there stood in the reign of Edward II. an inn which may be conveniently designated 'Old Lincoln's Inn.' It had been the hostel of the famous justiciar, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who, according to Dugdale, had gathered around him great numbers of students of the law, and had created there, so we may judge, a more important legal centre than any that had yet existed in England. The buildings were erected partly on the ruins of the old monastery of the Black Friars, who had arrived there about the year 1221 but had left in 1286, and partly on the garden of his own inn; but the whole of it was included in his own manor of Holborn.

In 1224 John Bokointe had granted and confirmed 'to God and the Canons of the Preaching Friars' in perpetual alms, saving the services due to the lords of the fee, the lands and buildings in the parish of St. Andrew *juxta* Holeburn, which had been bought from him by Hubert de Burgh (Justiciar and Regent during Henry III.'s minority) and given to the Friars.[1]

Further gifts by other pious donors were made of land in Shoe Lane and its neighbourhood. In 1231 Alice la Brune, in her widowhood, made a grant in frank almoign to the Church of St. John the Evangelist of Holeburn and the Preaching Friars there of all her land lying between the cemetery of the friars and the entrance to the messuage of Richard Lungejambe, the tanner.[2] In 1235 Richard Renger (Mayor in 1223-1226 and again in 1238) granted to the same church and friars the land he had

[1] *Duchy of Lancs. Ancient Deeds*, L. S. 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, L. 131.

bought from Elias, the son of the said Richard Lungejambe 'between the land of the said friars on the west and the water called Holeburne on the east.'[1] In 1235 Henry de Bedeford and his wife, daughter of Geoffrey Bokointe, granted the friars a release and quit-claim of rent arising from the land in Scholand, given them by the Abbot of Notley.[2] In 1240 Ralph Eswy, citizen of London (Mayor in 1242), made a grant to the Church of St. John the Evangelist, beyond Holeburn Bridge, and to the Preaching Friars there, of certain tenements in the way or street of Soland, in the parishes of St. Andrew of Holeburn and St. Bride's, which he had purchased of Robert Tegularius (the tyler).[3] In 1235 (about) Adam le Cutiler gave them 'a messuage in Scholand, lying between the land of Agnes, daughter of Alexander le Chaucer, on the north, and that of the Abbot of Notley, on the south; which messuage the said Adam received from John de Herdefeld and Juliana, daughter of Isabel, his wife, in exchange for a messuage which she gave them in Scholand, on the west side of the High Street.[4] Henry and Adam Tegularius and their wives gave to the Friars their property, which was situated 'between the land of the Friars northward, and the land which Robert Tegulator held of the same fee southward, and extending from the land sometime of William le Veil and from the land which was of Alexander le Chaucer, as far as the Flete.'[5]

In 1260 (about) an interesting grant was made by Ivo de Mortelake, draper of London, to Brother John of Derlinthon, Prior, and to the Friars Preachers of Holeburn, of land in the suburb of London 'in vico de Sholand' in the parish of St. Bride's between the land of the said Prior and brethren northwards, and the lane called Smalebrogge Lane southwards, namely, all the lands with the appurtenances which the said Ivo bought of Alexander le Goz, of Richard Crake, and of Isabel la Bukeler and William Carpenter, and of all the land at Showelle which he bought of Robert Vader, To hold of the same Ivo and his successors for ever in fee at divers rents payable to the Church of St. Bride's, the Canons of St. Bar-

[1] *Duchy of Lancs. Ancient Deeds*, L. 132. [2] *Ibid.* L. 134.
[3] *Ibid.* L. 135. [4] *Ibid.* L. 136. [5] *Ibid.* L. 140.

tholomew, John Tyler, the brethren of the New Temple, the Hospital of St. James without London, and others.[1]

But the whole list of gifts to the friars need not be mentioned; they were all situated in Shoe Lane; the closest investigation can reveal no grants to them of land beyond this immediate neighbourhood.

On the 12th June 1262 Henry III. directed an inquiry to be made as to whether it would be to the prejudice of the City of London or the suburb thereof if a certain lane should be enclosed by the Preaching Friars of London. The Writ, returned, stated in reply: 'This is the verdict of good and lawful men as well of the city of London as of the suburb, diligent inquirers whether that lane which is between the house of the Prior and brothers of the Order of Preachers, on the one side, and the site of the court which was of Richard Lungespeye, on the other side, can be enclosed without hurt or injury to any one, who say that that lane which is held of the lord the king may well be enclosed without damage, hurt, or injury to any one, in such a manner that nevertheless a certain fountain, which is called Showell, which is at the upper head of the same lane, shall remain unobstructed so that the neighbourhood may have access to that fountain for drawing water there whenever necessary on account of the danger of fire.'[2]

This record establishes the fact that not only the lands but also the *hospicium* or Monastery of the Black Friars was situated in Shoe Lane and not in Chancery Lane, as is generally supposed.

After a while, however, that is in 1286, the friars built themselves nobler premises on the east side of the Fleet, between Ludgate and what is now known as Blackfriars' Bridge. On the 3rd March of that year William de Hothum, Principal, and Nicholas, the Prior of the Order of Preaching Friars, sold all their buildings and habitations near Holeburn (probably Holeburn stream) to Henry de Lacy; and on the 25th of February 1287 the said Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Justiciar of England, made acknowledgment in Chancery that he owed to the Prior and Preaching Friars

[1] *Duchy of Lancs. Ancient Deeds*, L. 137.
[2] *Inq. ad quod dam.*, file ii. No. 17, 46 Henry III.

five hundred marks, to be levied in default of his lands and chattels in the county of Lincoln. 'For this recognisance the Prior and Friars Preachers granted the Earl their old houses, with the site of the same where they were wont to dwell.' And the Chancellor took this recognisance and ordered it to be enrolled. The debt was paid by instalments.[1]

Thus the Earl became possessed in 1286 of ample accommodation for those students 'apt and eager' whom he had gathered to his service. These, we may suppose, in accordance with the prevailing custom of the age, formed themselves into a society, the Society of Lincoln's Inn, which, though it has changed its location, has retained its existence till the present day.

It was the proximity of his property to the Holeburn River which caused the Earl to complain, in 1307, that whereas formerly the course of water running under Holeburn Bridge and Fleet Bridge into the Thames had been of such breadth and depth that ten or twelve ships 'were wont to come to Fleet Bridge and some of them to Holeburn Bridge, yet that by the filth of the tanners and others, by the raising of wharfs, and especially by them of the New Temple for their mills without Baynard's Castle, and by other impediments, the course was decayed, and ships could not enter as they were used.'[2]

Extraordinary accounts have come down to us respecting the Earl's wonderful garden and orchards, the perfection and beauty and profits of which were due to the previous labours of the friars. The value of the fruit harvest in the year 1295 is assessed by one writer as equal to '£135 in our currency.'

In 1311 the will of Sir Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was recorded in the Court of Hustings in London. Had this property been situate in Chancery Lane, the will would not have been there recorded. It was proved by Master Boniface de Salute, Archdeacon of Bokingham, Co. Lincoln, Sir Clement the Prior of Espalding, William the Prior of St. Oswald, and others, and therein was the following clause as to lay fee in London:—'I will,

[1] *Close Rolls*, 14 Edward I. m. 2d.

[2] *Placita Parliamentaria*, 35 Edward I. 'De Cursu aquæ de Flete.'

therefore, and devise that all my place which belonged to the Preaching Friars, together with all my dwelling-houses thereon, be sold by order of my executors to assist in fulfilling my testament.'[1] If this injunction was carried into effect it would mean a change in ownership, but it would not necessitate the migration of the Society. There were probably other reasons for that migration, one of which may be mentioned here.

Alesia, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Lincoln, had been married to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin, so that upon the death of De Lacy, the inn came into the possession of the Earl of Lancaster, whose retainers, equal to those of the king, required housing. Moreover, the latter Earl, as will be shown in a later chapter, was lord of the possessions of the Knights Templars who had been suppressed only three years before, namely in 1308, which possessions included not only the Temple, but also nearly the whole of the western side of New Street, otherwise called Chancery Lane. These two sites, therefore, would be available for any overflow from Lincoln's Inn.

The expenses of the Earl of Lancaster's house in Shoe Lane for one whole year from Michaelmas 1314 to Michaelmas 1315 are stated by John Stow, who informs us that he had seen the accounts, to have amounted to £7957, 13s. 4d. The pantry, buttery, and kitchen took £3405; the wine, red and white, £104, 17s. 6d.; and for 7 furs of variable miniver (or powdered ermine), 7 hoods of purple, 395 furs of budge for liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, and 123 furs of lambs, for esquires, bought at Christmas, £147, 17s. 8d. was paid. But what interests us most in this remarkable list is an item of £314, 7s. 4½d., for 1714 lbs. of wax, with vermilion and turpentine, to make red wax; and another item of £4, 8s. 3¼d, for 129 dozen of parchment, with ink.[2] What can this great quantity of wax and parchment have been needed for? We can only surmise that legal business was still being carried on here; and our conclusions will be confirmed by ancient records, when we read, under date of 28th September 1314, of an

[1] *Court of Hustings Wills.* R. R. Sharpe.
[2] Stow's *Survey*, pp. 32 and 33. Reprint 1876.

Lnrolment of Agreement being made 'in the Inn of the Earl of Eancaster at Holeburne, in the suburb of London,' in the presence of two justices.[1]

Upon the attainder of the Earl of Lancaster in 1321, the Inn became the escheat of the king, Edward II., who restored it to the Countess of Lincoln, as Alesia was now called, only to compel her to sell it to him and Hugh le Despenser. In the next reign, upon the attainder of the latter, Edward III. gave it back to Alesia, who had now married Ebulo Lestrange, known sometimes as Earl of Lincoln.

These three Inns—that of Lincoln, the famous Justiciar of England; that of De Grey, Justiciar of Chester; and that of Le Scrope, Justice of King's Bench—were the three most important legal seminaries in the reign of Edward II. They all had a personal origin, and arose from the necessity which these dignitaries of the law were under, of gathering around them trained professors and practitioners to carry on the growing business of the *Curia Regis*, which, with the Exchequer, had, under previous kings, been composed of the same persons, but which under Edward I., had become separated into three tribunals, the Court of the Exchequer, Court of King's Bench, and Court of Common Pleas.

We may take it for granted, then, that the latter end of Edward I.'s reign and the beginning of that of his son saw the first establishment of the so-called Inns of Court, all of them in Holborn; and that Sir John Fortescue's statement in his *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written in 1465, that 'the Inns of *Chancery* were the earliest settled places for students of the law,' is corroborated by the history of the founders of Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and Scrope's (or old Serjeant's) Inn. Of these three by far the most important and the most frequented was that of the Justiciar, the Earl of Lincoln, which stood east and south of St. Andrew's Church and was the forerunner of the present Lincoln's Inn in Chancery Lane. It has the proud distinction of being the earliest in existence of those four Inns of Court to which the great body of English law owes almost everything.

[1] *Close Rolls*, 8 Edward II., No. 137 m. 32d.

CHAPTER X

CHANCERY LANE, NEW TEMPLE, NEW LINCOLN'S INN, AND THE RECORD OFFICE

When the Templars left Holborn Bars in 1186 it is not unlikely that they owned all the land lying directly between their old property and the banks of the Thames, and it was probably they who were instrumental in creating New Street, or Chancery Lane, which led from the royal highway of Holborn to their new river-side premises. King Henry II. gave them permission to erect a mill and make a messuage on the Fleet by Fleet Bridge,[1] and in 1213 letters patent were issued granting them leave to export their wool.

It has been explained that they enfeoffed the bishopric of Lincoln with their old premises at Holborn Bars for a service of 40s. *per annum*. They no doubt enfeoffed others of other parts of their possessions, for on the west side of New Street a man named William Coterell is found in 1186 in possession of a garden which ultimately became part of the site of the present Lincoln's Inn, and on the east side of the street, but further south, a wealthy mercer and sheriff of London named John Herlicun holds a much larger property.

William Coterell made a gift of his garden with all its appurtenances to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the Prior of the said Hospital created a rent charge of 9s. sterling upon the property in the same year in favour of the hospital for lepers at the Monastery of St. Giles[2] without London, which existed where now stands the Church of St. Giles-in-the-

[1] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vii. 818, ed. 1830.
[2] *Harl. MS.*, No. 4015, fol. 198 v°.

Fields. The rent of this property was still being paid to the successors of the hospital in the fifteenth century, but by the Society of Lincoln's Inn.

On the 5th February 1244, the then Bishop of Chichester not being expected to recover from an illness, the King, Henry III., issued a mandate to his Treasurer, William de Haverhill, to secure for him the houses of the said bishop as soon as he should die, so that neither the Templars nor any other person should lay hands on them.[1] We may conclude that the Templars were prepared to lay claim to the said houses, and events which happened in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. will confirm the view that they were the lords of the property, though not in chief.

In the second year of the reign of Edward II., 1308, the Order of the Knights Templars was suppressed by command of the Pope; and those of them in London were committed to the Tower, falsely charged, as we now know, with the most hideous crimes, the custody of their property being entrusted to Aymer de Valence.

But this 'grant' to Aymer de Valence was one simply of custody. The Knights had held the new Temple of the honour of Leicester, and when Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was slain in 1266 the honour had been granted to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, whose son Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, now inherited the lordship.

On the 28th November 1313 an Order was issued to the keepers of certain of the late Templars' lands in London to deliver to the Grand Preceptor and Proctor-General of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem the said lands of the late Order of the Temple, the Pope having granted the same to the Hospitallers.[2]

And on the 1st October 1314 confirmation was made in Chancery of the quit claim which Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, had made, at the king's request, to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 'of the manor of the new Temple, London, and of

[1] *Close Rolls*, Henry II. 58, m. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, 7 Edward II., m. 16.

all lands and tenements and rents late of the Templars in the suburb of London and in the county of Middlesex and which are of the fee of the said Earl of Lancaster as of the honour of Leicester.'[1]

In the year 1313, therefore, the chief lord of the New Temple and also of the west side, at least, of Chancery Lane was Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Lincoln, who also held and occupied Old Lincoln's Inn in Shoe Lane.

Upon the execution and attainder of Thomas in 1321, the fee came into the hands of Edward II., who gave it to Hugh le Despenser, and on the attainder of the latter in 1327 it came into the hands of Edward III.

On the 12th May 1338 licence was granted to the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England for alienation in mortmain to the Bishop of Chichester of twenty-one acres of land adjoining the Bishop's house in Converts' Lane. And on the same day pardon was granted to the said Bishop, the King's Chancellor, and his successors of the rent of 30s. for the said houses and his gardens there, which he should render yearly at the Exchequer by reason of the manor of the New Temple, London, being in the king's hands by forfeiture of Hugh le Despenser the younger.[2]

Before the 'alienation in mortmain' could take effect, however, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem created a rent charge for the sustentation of the Church of the New Temple, upon part of the property, namely the 'land adjacent to Temple Bar called Fickeysfield' and the 'garden which is called Coterelles garden.'[3]

It now becomes easy to understand how in the life-time of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, or of Edward II. or Edward III., some of the students from old Lincoln's Inn may have settled under the eaves, so to speak, of the Bishop of Chichester's palace in Chancery Lane, whilst others went to the New Temple. A document on the *Close Rolls*, dated 1376, mentions the Chancery clerks and

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Edward II., Pt. i. m. 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, 12 Edward III., Pt. i. m. 2.
[3] *Cotton MS.*, Nero, E. VI. fol. 26 v°.

apprentices-at-law who frequented 'Fikettsfield, adjacent to the Inn of the Bishop of Chichester.'[1] If in this year a number of law students had already settled around that Inn, we may be quite sure that they would also have formed themselves into a society, the name of which would most assuredly have been handed down to us had it been any other than 'The Society of Lincoln's Inn.' Edward III. had given back to Alesia, Countess of Lincoln, the Inn of her father in Shoe Lane; she had married again; the property had become alienated to the nephew of her second husband; and all the law business of the day had become centred almost entirely in Chancery Lane or at its extremities, leaving Thavy's Inn and Scrope's Inn, at St. Andrew's Church, practically isolated. Though we cannot prove the date or circumstance of the migration it is clear that it must have taken place.

The licence of 12th May 1338 and the pardon issued on the same day seem to prove that the present site of Lincoln's Inn belonged originally to the manor of the New Temple, which manor was one of the possessions of the Earldom, afterwards known as the Duchy, of Lancaster. They also seem to show that the Bishop and his successors had been relieved of all rent service to the lords of the fee.

The manor of the New Temple was still a part of the Duchy of Lancaster, being held of the manor of East Greenwich, when in 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament passed an Act for selling the fee-farm rents formerly payable to the Crown of England, the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Duchy of Cornwall.

On the 25th March 1651 an indenture made between Thomas Cook, Wm. Bosvile, and others, trustees for the sale of Crown possessions, of the one part, and William Babb, citizen and baker of London, of the other part, after reciting (*inter alia*) that whereas James I. by letters patent 13th August in his sixth year granted to Julius Cæsar and others in fee-farm for ever, all that house and capital messuage known as the Inner Temple and Middle Temple, or New Temple, in the suburb of London, to be held of his manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage by

[1] *Close Rolls*, 49 Edward III. No. 220, m. 40d.

fealty only and not 'in capite' at a yearly rent of £20, witnesses that the said trustees have bargained and sold (*inter alia*) the said fee-farm rent of £20 to the said William Babb for ever.[1]

A facsimile of the charter of James I. is in the Guildhall library. The document makes no differentiation in the long list of Templars named therein, and it is not possible to say which persons represent the Inner and which the Middle Temple, but it is clearly stated that the rent is £10 for each Temple.

Charles II. repudiated the Indenture of 1651, but subsequently permitted the Benchers of the Middle and Inner Temples to purchase their several moieties of the property in 1673 and 1675 respectively.[2]

On the east side of New Street or Chancery Lane there was in the reign of Edward II. another important building connected with the law and the Crown known as the House of Converts, which was in the charge of the Keeper of the Rolls.

For some reason or other the lands of John Herlicun, Sheriff of London, had become forfeited. On the 19th July 1227 Henry III. made a gift to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, 'of land with a garden in Newstrate, opposite to the land of the said Bishop in that street, which John Herlicun forfeited, and which is the king's escheat.'[3]

On the 13th February 1228 King Henry made a grant to Hubert de Burgh, his Justiciar, of 'all the lands, rents, and possessions of John Herlicun within and without the City of London, saving to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, the garden opposite his house in Newstrate, whereof he has a charter of gift from the king.'[4]

In 1232 the king built a house and church (afterwards known as the Rolls Chapel) for Jewish converts to the Catholic Faith, and in 1235, the previous gift to Hubert having been cancelled,

[1] *Close Rolls*, 1651, Part x. No. 35.
[2] *Close Rolls*, 25 Chas. II. 5, m. 14 and 28 Chas. II. 6, m. 31.
[3] *Charter Rolls*, 11 Henry III., Part ii., m. 7 No. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, 12 Henry III., m. 9.

a fresh grant was made 'to the House, which the king has founded in the street called Newstrate, between the Old Temple and the New Temple, for the support of the brethren converted, and to be converted, from Judaism to the Catholic Faith, of the lands and tenements late of John Herlicun in London, which are in the king's hands as his escheat, saving the garden which the king has already granted to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, his Chancellor.'[1]

On the 9th July 1461 an appointment was made, during good behaviour, of Thomas Kirkeby, King's Clerk, as Keeper of the Rolls and Books of Chancery, he receiving the accustomed fees; and a further grant to him was made, during office, of the Custody of the House of Converts set apart of old by the kings of England, and annexed to the said office for the habitation of the said Keeper.[2]

The Record Office in Chancery Lane has remained in the custody of the Master of the Rolls ever since.[3]

[1] *Charter Rolls*, 19 Henry III., m. 11.
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward IV., Part v., m. 12.
[3] *History of Rolls House and Chapel.* W. J. Hardy.

CHAPTER XI

STAPLE INN AS A CHANCERY AND EXCHEQUER COURT

We have passed in review the most important surroundings of Staple Inn in 1313, and have seen that the beginnings of the Inns of Court may be referred to this period. The Inns of Chancery which preceded them must therefore at one time have been the only centres for law business; consequently it would not be surprising if they had previously been occasionally used as Chancery and Exchequer Courts.

The Exchequer takes its name from the chequered cloth, something like an *escheker*, or chess-board, in design, on which accounts were calculated by means of counters,[1] which was invariably used at any wholesale market for the collection of the king's dues; hence the term came to be applied to a court of revenue and to the public Treasury.

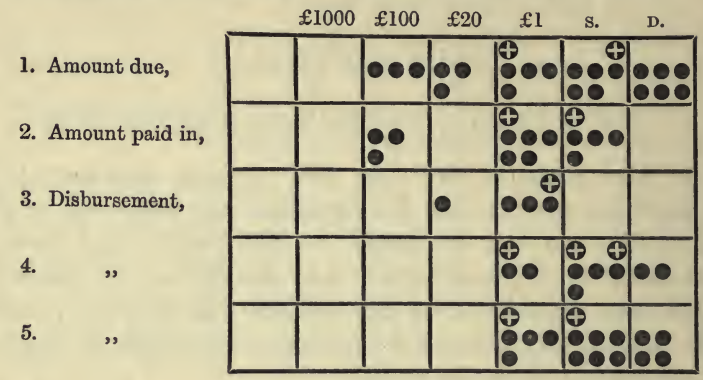
During the reign of Henry II., from 1154 to 1184, the Treasury, though probably only a part of it, was kept at the inn of the Knights Templars. When the Knights moved nearer to the Thames the New Temple also was used as a Treasury, as well as a Record Office, and as a Court, not only for Chancery and Exchequer cases, but for criminal also. The Knights continued to act as bankers for the Pope, for the king, and others.

The following Order, to take but one example, dated the 12th May 1276, may be regarded as equivalent to a draft upon the bank: 'To Joseph de Cauncy, Treasurer, Mandate to deliver out of the tenth for two years in his custody at the New Temple, London, to Master Bek, the king's clerk, 815 marks 11s. 11d. for the expenses of the household, and 100 marks to Ralph de Albiniacs for his quit-claim of the honour of Monemue.'[2]

[1] *Antiquities of the Exchequer.* H. Hall.
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 4 Edward I., m. 23.

THE EXCHEQUER SYSTEM.

I. The Board and the Counters (from Hall's *Antiquities*, pp. 115, 221).



II. The same Account in Arabic Numerals which were unknown in England in the thirteenth Century:—

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Amount due,	300+20×3+	14	10	6 =	374	10	6
2. Amount paid in	300+	15	14	6 =	315	14	0
3. Disbursement,	20+	8	0	0 =	28	0	0
4. ,,		12	19	2 =	12	19	2
5. ,,		14	16	4 =	14	16	4
					317	9	6
Amount still due from Sheriff				=	3	1	0

In Henry III.'s charter to the citizens of London, dated 1268, he says that 'those debts which of their contracts and loans shall be due unto them, they may cause to be enrolled in our Exchequer for the more surety of them, upon the recognisance of those who shall stand bound in them in the said debts . . . and for every pound to be enrolled in the Exchequer, one penny shall be paid to our use, for the charge of sustentation of those who must attend to the enrolling.'[1]

When Henry died in 1272 his son Edward was in the Holy Land; a parliament of barons was thereupon held in the New Temple, who on 20th November appointed Walter de Merton

[1] *Historical Charters of the City.*

as Chancellor, pending Edward's return and confirmation of the appointment.

On the 18th January 1276 Edward wrote to Brother Joseph de Chauncey, the treasurer, in the following terms: 'Whereas the king has assigned the arrears of the tenth in England lately granted to him, and of the tallage lately assessed upon the Jews to complete the works of the Tower of London, which arrears cannot be levied with the speed that is convenient, and the king wills that the works aforesaid shall not in any way be delayed, the king orders the Treasurer to pay to Giles de Audenard, keeper of the works aforesaid, 1000 marks out of the sum of money that the Treasurer has in deposit at the New Temple, London, in the king's name. When the Treasurer shall have paid this sum, the king will cause him to have his writ of *liberate* or of quittance.'[1]

We read also, in reference to a certain charter of the year 1289, that 'this charter remains in a box in the chest in which the Rolls of Chancery are kept at the New Temple.'

And as an example of another class of transactions, frequent enough, we are told, under date 25th March 1294, that 'Brother Roger, abbot of the Cistercian house of Bruern on Coddeswold acknowledges that he owes to Restaurus Bonaventur', Simon Gerardi, Guy Bertaldi, Guy Bardi, and others their fellows, citizens and merchants of Florence of the Society of the Spini of Florence, 1150 marks sterling; to be levied in default of their lands and chattels in Co. Oxford.' A memorandum is attached to the entry five years later (1299) that 'Philip Garardyn of the said Society came into Chancery on Friday, the eve of St. James in the 27th year of Edw. (I.) in the chapel of the House of Converts, London, and acknowledged the receipt of this sum.'[2]

The king had the right of lodging at the inn of the Knights and often exercised it,[3] and when the new premises by the Thames were erected in 1185 the Bishop of Ely received the same right, a

[1] *Close Rolls*, 4 Edward I., m. 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, 22 Edward I., m. 11d.
[3] *Itinerary of King John.* T. D. Hardy.

room next the Chapel being specially set apart for his use.[1] This may have occurred when Bishop Nigel was Chancellor in 1184, or perhaps when Bishop Longchamp held that office in 1189.

The Calendars of Patent Rolls for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contain scores of references to the Chancery being held in the neighbourhood of Holborn. Sometimes it was held in the New Temple; sometimes in the Converts' Inn; sometimes at the house of the Chancellor, and even in St. Andrew's Church. For instance, we read that on the 27th June 1339, Richard de Berkyngge, citizen and draper of London, came into chancery at the hostel of the Bishop of Ely, Holeburn.[2] On the 20th July 1339, Roger de Forsham, citizen and mercer of London, came into chancery in the church of St. Andrew, Holeburn.[3] We read of the Rolls of Chancery being kept first at the Temple, and then at the House of Converts; of the Master of the Rolls being appointed a residence at the House of Converts; of the Exchequer receiving the king's dues, which were paid into the Treasury at the Temple; of litigants and debtors paying money into the same safe custody; and in short, of nearly all the king's business being done around this spot. And this being so, we are inevitably led to speculate as to where all this necessary business was transacted before the Templars had come to earn their remarkable position of trust.

Fitzstephen, in his biography of Becket, tells us that in 1164, John le Marshall was in London, officially engaged 'at the quadrangular table, which, from its counters (*calculis*) of two colours, is commonly called the exchequer (*scaccarium*), but which is rather the King's table for white money (*nummis albicoloribus*), where also are held the King's pleas of the Crown,'[4] a statement which makes it clear that the Court of Exchequer had not as yet been differentiated from that of Pleas of the Crown, and that this court was, at least at times, in London, and not always at Westminster.

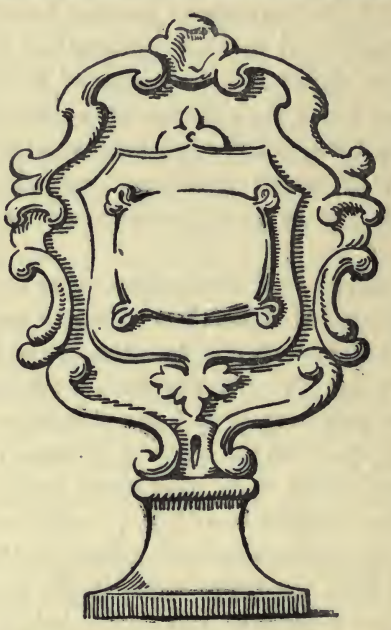
[1] *Close Rolls*, 13 Edward III., Part ii. m. 34d.
[2] *Ibid.*, 13 Edward III., Part ii. m. 24d.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *The Commune of London*, p. 63. J. H. Round.

The King's Justiciar, his Chancellor, and the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, with their clerks, would naturally need a common centre for the transaction of their revenue, chancery, equity, and common law business. They did not choose the neighbourhood of the Great Hall of William Rufus, but they gathered rather towards the district which we now call Holborn. Hence the environs of 'le stapled halle' became not only the resort of wealthy wool-staplers or mereers, but also the nucleus of those 'apprentices of the law,' or members of the legal profession, who were skilled in a knowledge of the law-merchant, of the issues arising out of the collection of the revenue, and of many cases of common law in which a complainant might appear before the 'keeper of the king's conscience,' and plead that by the defendant's injustice he was debarred from paying the king's lawful dues.

Bearing in mind that the chief officers of the revenue, chancery, equity and common law had at first no settled court in which to transact their business—when as yet there was no Gray's Inn, nor Scrope's Inn, nor Lincoln's Inn, and when the Temple was as yet unbuilt—we can well imagine that the pie-powder court of Portpool at one time witnessed the trial and settlement of many issues other than those which were determined merely by the law-merchant. Upon its table, or escheker, a large proportion of the king's revenue was calculated, and officers of the king's courts must no doubt have constantly attended the proceedings. But these officers were capable of arguing and judging any point of legal inquiry, no matter what department of judicature might be affected. We can imagine that even the Chancellor or one of the Barons of the Exchequer sometimes sat in the 'place of ground' afterwards known as 'le stapled halle,' to listen to the arguments of the 'apprentices of the law'; and it would be not at all improbable that the seat upon which the officer sat would be a woolsack, as is also the seat of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords to-day—the woolsack, which still remains associated both with the Chancellorship and with Staple Inn.

Nor would the Chancellor, or chief officer, only sit upon a wool-

sack, but probably the whole of the officers of the court had similar seats. As early as the year 1298, when the statue of 'Articuli super Chartas' was passed, we are told that the king gave his royal assent from the throne, 'the Chancellor and the Judges sitting upon the woolsacks.'[1] At a later period, *Act* 31 *Henry VIII.*, *cap.* 10, directed that 'the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or any other officer who shall be under the degree of a Baron of



CARVED ORNAMENT IN STONE OVER THE ENTRANCE TO STAPLE HALL, SHOWING THE WOOLSACK

a Parliament shall sit and be placed at the uppermost part of the sacks in the midst of the said Parliament chamber, either there to sit upon one Form or upon the uppermost Sack.' Sir Symonds d'Ewes, speaking of the Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, says that the Lord Keeper, Sir Francis Bacon, 'when her Majesty was absent sate on the first Woolsack which is placed athwart the House, the Seal and the Mace by him.' The other woolsacks

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors.*

were allotted to the Judges. The woolsacks of the market court had become, so to speak, the symbol of the law officers of the Crown. No special significance, however, need be attached to the woolsack as a seat for the Chancellor, no honourable reference to any Staple is implied, nor did it arise through any Parliamentary ordinance; we may suppose that the hard wooden Bench of a wool-market court would inevitably become cushioned with sacks of wool, whilst the advocates would stand behind the rough wooden rail which came to be called the Bar. In short, though few are the facts upon which we may base our conclusions, all the inferences seem to justify the opinion that Staple Inn was the earliest of those Inns of Court and of Chancery which form by far the most renowned and the largest legal centre in the world.

Long after the king's courts had become differentiated into Chancery, Exchequer, Common Pleas, and King's Bench, the connection between the Staple and the Chancery seems to have continued; for we find Henry VIII. in 1516 ordering Sir Richard Wingfield to deliver to Henry Kebyll, Alderman of London, executor of William Brown, late Alderman there, such wools as have remained under arrest in the town of Calais, on giving security of £3000 *to answer such demands as John Mundy, Alderman of Calais, will commence against him in the Court of the Staple or Chancery.*[1]

Sir William Browne was Lord Mayor in 1507 and in 1513, Sir Henry Kebble held the same office in 1510, and John Mundy, though he was an alderman of Calais, held it in 1522. Sir William Browne had married Alice, the daughter of Sir Henry Kebble.

[1] *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Brewer, vol. ii. (No. 1642, ii.).

CHAPTER XII

THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY AND THE KING'S GOVERNMENT

QUESTIONS will naturally arise as to why the king's wool court should have been established outside the City of London, why it should have become a department, so to speak, of his Exchequer, and why either should ever have been located at Holborn Bars. To find answers to these questions it is necessary to go back to an earlier period in English history. Imagine we are in the days of Edward the Confessor.

> 'Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
> Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
> Forget the spreading of the hideous town,
> Think rather of the pack-horse on the down
> And dream of London small and white and clean,
> The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green.'

From the West of England the entrance to London was by a single road, the old Roman military road known to the Saxons as Watling Street, part of which is now called Edgware Road, Oxford Street, and High Holborn. One gate only, now called Newgate, received the manufactures, the agricultural and pastoral products, and the commerce of western counties. The Flete was a bay, as its name implies, deep enough for the largest ships, which unloaded as far as Holeburn Bridge; Lodgate led merely to a wharf; there was no Fleet Bridge, and Fleet Street was as yet a part of 'Lundene fenne.'

No king since Athelstane had dared to build his palace within the walls of London. It was a free city, as free practically as the Hanse towns of Germany, but with this difference—its cosmopolitan population held almost all the power in the election of England's kings.

Along its river frontage London had constructed several quays, each of which was reserved for definite purposes. On the extreme east was the Wool wharf for export, afterwards taken from the City and included in the liberty of the Tower; next, towards the west, was Belinsgate, for fish and home produce; next, again towards the west, was the wharf of the Emperor's men, the Easterlings, the merchants of High Almain, who had their own Guildhall, and called their wharf the Stilyard (said to be a corruption of Stafel or Staple-yard); next came Duuegate, or Dowgate, the wharf of the Rouen men who brought wine and other French products; next came Etheredhithe, afterwards called Queenhithe, from Matilda, wife of Stephen;[1] finally, outside the walls, came the Fleet, which was used for wool and leather for export; and for wood, coal, and other heavy imports coming from the coasts of England.

The charter of Henry II., dated 1150, is interesting. 'The men of Rouen who are of the Merchant Guild shall be quit of all dues at London save for wine and porpoise. They shall also be free to go through all the markets in England, saving the king's lawful dues. And the citizens of Rouen shall have at London their port at Duuegate as they had from the time of Edward [the Confessor] with the right that if they find in that port a ship not their own . . . they may if they will cut the ropes and send her out and shall be responsible to no one.'[2] Henry II. did not succeed, however, in establishing his right to the crown of England until the death of Stephen in 1154.

None of the traffic from the west could reach the wharves within the walls of the City except by paying toll at Newgate. Nor did merchants care to pay toll on the chance of selling their goods beyond its gates. They sold their wool, hides, and woolfells at Portepol, and the market was held there simply because it could not be held in the deep hollow which existed between St. Andrew's Church and Newgate. In later times, during the reign of Henry III. the City struggled to obtain possession of this

[1] *London before the Conquest*, p. 92. W. R. Lethaby.
[2] *Calendar of Documents in France*, p. 34. J. H. Round.

market, but they never succeeded. They annexed in 1222 the whole of Holeburn Strete up to the Bar of the Old Temple,[1] but failed to secure any of the lands of the Bishop of Ely; they obtained control, however, of the wharves on the Fleet estuary; the district became eventually the ward of Farringdon Without; and its apparently erratic boundary survives to recall the tale of an ancient struggle. But it was never the citizens who declined to extend their bounds; it was the authorities outside who denied satisfaction to their aspirations.

In 1066 the saintly Edward the Confessor died, and the Londoners according to custom proceeded to elect a king. But in the battle which ensued between William of Normandy the invader, and Harold, their choice, the latter was worsted and slain. The citizens hesitated for a while, but eventually, no doubt as the result of a little tactful bargaining on both sides, they elected William, who after a short delay wrote off his famous charter, six inches by one of parchment, still so highly cherished by the City. 'William the king friendly salutes William the bishop and Godfrey the Portreve and all the burghers of London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all law-worthy as you were in the days of King Edward, and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God help you.'[2]

London was to be free; other towns might be held of some earl or lord in demesne or *in dominio*; but the liberties of the City of London were assured and remained unimpaired; and when Domesday Book was completed London was not included therein. The citizens were to be all law-worthy, as in the days of Edward. Saving the king's dues, and saving trespasses against the realm, they were to govern themselves. And London's liberties became eventually the model for those of the whole realm.

[1] *Archæologia*, xxvi. 227, for boundaries of Abbot of Westminster, in A.D. 1222.

[2] Historical Charters of the City of London.

But the old rule now became fixed, and the citizens never at any time witnessed the erection of a king's palace in their midst. The resourceful William sought to qualify the disability by constructing the over-awing Tower which has become so famous. But Norman and Plantagenet alike generally farmed what remained of their regal prerogative in London, and established their *curia regia*, their chancery, their exchequer, and all the offices of their Court outside the City's bounds, though as near to the gates as possible. Thus it happened that Holborn became important in a double sense; it was the place of the king's receipt of custom and also the focus of government.

Nor were any of the king's officers or the servants of his household or his clerks in chancery permitted to receive domicile in the the City unless they happened to be citizens. They were quartered in the suburb. 'Be it remembered,' says the *Corporation Letter Book*, 'that on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle in the eleventh year of King Edward, son of King Edward [21st December 1317], Clement, the Clerk of the King's Marshalsey came here [*i.e.* the Guildhall] and asked of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff that the serjeants of the City might be deputed on the City's behalf to go with them into the suburb [Holeburn] to make delivery there of lodgings for the use of the household of his lordship the king on his next coming to Westminster. And to do this were deputed Roger atte Watre and Rogier le Barbier, serjeants.'[1] The king himself probably lodged in the New Temple buildings, though the Order of the Knights had lately been suppressed. Henry I. had granted a charter to the citizens in 1100 to the effect 'that none shall lodge within the walls, neither of my household, nor of any other, nor lodging be delivered by force.'[2]

The church-bound, extravagant and incapable Henry III., full of big schemes as he always was, exerted himself to the utmost to secure a realisation of Edward the Confessor's old project of

[1] *Memorials of London.* H. T. Riley.
[2] Historical Charters of the City of London.

making Westminster, that is, the settlement round the Abbey, a rival City to London. And in order to cripple the market at Portpool, he issued a decree against its being held, and tried to create a new one on the site of his choice. The chronicler, Matthew Paris, gives an account of this. On the 13th October 1248, 'the king declared and ordered proclamation to be made throughout the City of London and elsewhere, that he established a new fair, to be held at Westminster for a full fortnight. He also strictly prohibited, under pain of heavy forfeiture and loss, all fairs and all traffic, which is usually carried on in London, both in and out of doors, that the Westminster Fair might have a better attendance of people. Whence it came to pass that numerous people flocked thither as to the most frequented fair, and the translation of St. Edward was celebrated, and the Blood of Christ (obtained by the king from the Holy Land the year before) worshipped to an unexpected degree by the people assembled there. However, the merchants exposing their goods for sale were put to great inconvenience, as they had no shelter except canvas tents, and, owing to the changeable winds which are usual at this season, suffered from wet and cold, and hunger and thirst, and their feet were soiled by the mud and their goods rotted by the rain. The Bishop of Ely made a heavy complaint to the king on the loss of his market at Ely which had been suspended by decree of the king who devised such novelties to the injury of his subjects; however, he got nothing but empty words in soothing promises of consolation to come.' The Fair was held again in Westminster in 1252 'to the injury of Ely Fair and the vexation of Londoners.'[1]

This part of Holborn was very frequently known by the name of Ely. For instance, on the 12th January 1337, letters patent were issued respecting John de Hothum, Bishop of Ely, granting 'license for the alienation in mortmain by the bishop to the prior and convent of Ely (Cambs.), of the manor of Northwold, Co. Norfolk, and six messuages, two cellars, and forty acres of land in Ely, London, the suburb of London and the parish of St.

[1] Matthew Paris, vol. v. pp. 29, 33.

Andrew de Holebourn, which purparty is held in chief, for the celebration of an obit for him for ever, as he should appoint.'[1]

In 1253, however, the situation had radically changed; for it was in that year that the king obtained control over the wool court of the Earl of Derby in Holeburn.

[1] *Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edward III., mm. 25, 17.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COURT OF THE EARL OF DERBY

It is not possible to say when the Chancellorship was first instituted, but it was in existence in the time of King Ethelred, for in the year 978 he made an order that the abbots of Ely, St. Augustine's Canterbury, and Glastonbury should hold it in turn, each for four months.[1] But in William the Conqueror's reign the chief officer under the Crown was not the Chancellor but the Justiciar, and the man who held that position in 1086 was Henry de Ferrars, who had been one of the Conqueror's followers in 1066.[2]

Besides being Justiciar, Henry de Ferrars was also Domesday Commissioner. He possessed estates in fourteen counties and held 114 manors in Derbyshire, and his son Robert was afterwards created Earl of Derby. Though his position may not have been clearly defined as Chief Justiciar, his place in the kingdom was one of the greatest importance. And it is permissible to surmise that at his court a copy of Domesday would be kept, that records of the changes in the ownership of land were there stored, the values of every holding registered, and the king's justice at times administered.

In 1247 William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, also a Justiciar, Governor of the Castle and Honour of Lancaster, and a lineal descendant of Henry died, 'aged nearly a hundred.'[3] In March

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors.*

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography, and its authorities.*

[3] *Complete Peerage.* G. E. C. quoting Matthew Paris. [The pedigree of the De Ferrars given by G. E. C. hardly bears critical examination; that published with this volume has therefore been left uncertain.]

1248-9 his son William, the next Earl of Derby, also died, leaving an heir Robert, nine years of age, who became a ward of the king.[1]

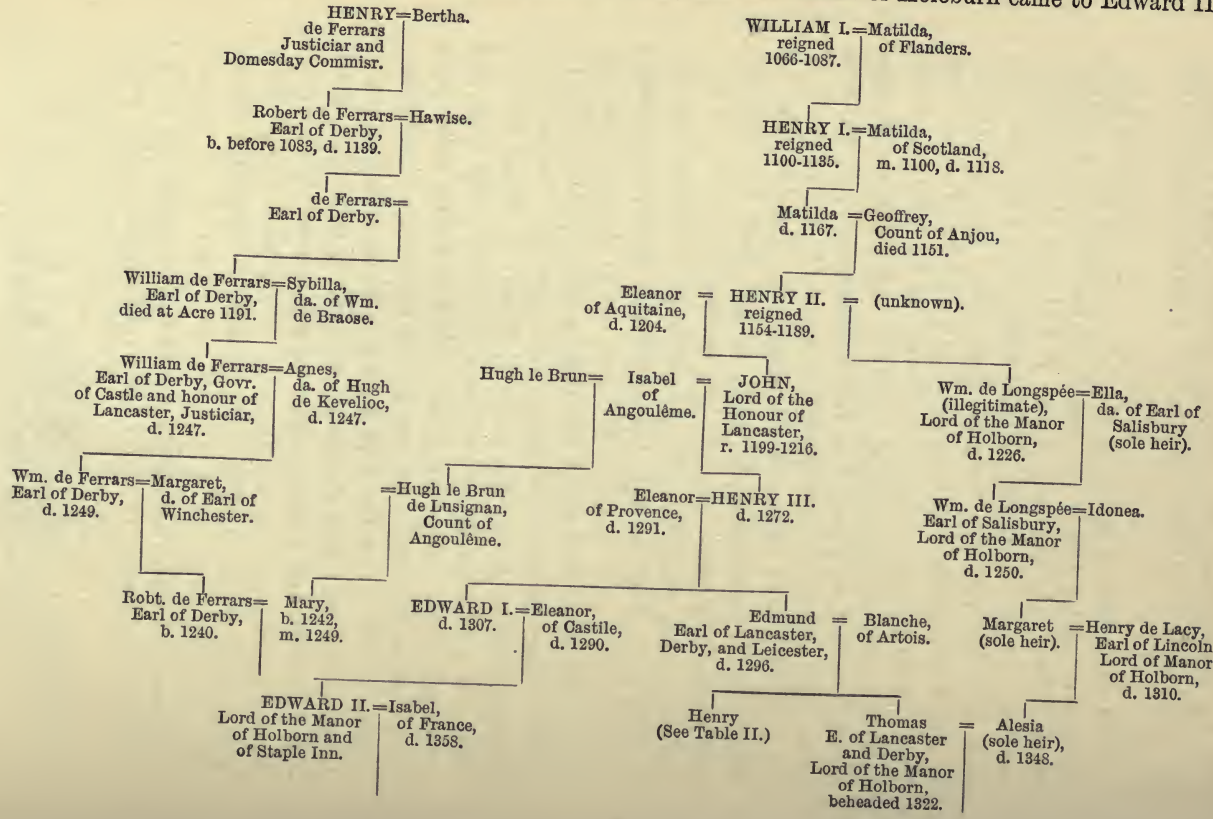
With characteristic cupidity, in order to enrich his relations, Henry III. married this boy of nine to his half-brother's daughter, Mary le Brun, who was only seven. It had been his intention to have married Robert to Mary's elder sister, but she had died soon after betrothal, and this hasty marriage with Mary was effected to ensure the end he had in view. On the 25th of October 1249 Henry made a 'gift to Robert de Ferrars in frank marriage with Mary, the king's niece, of £100, receivable yearly at the exchequer of London, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas, by the said Robert and Mary and the heirs of their bodies.'[2] But he intrusted the custody of the estates of the earldom at first to one of his favourites, and afterwards, in 1253, to his eldest son Edward. The king thus obtained control of the earldom.

But William de Ferrars, the grandfather of Robert, who had died in 1247, only one year before Robert's father, had granted a lease of part of his Court to his clerk, and in the same year that Edward received custody of the earldom, on April 6, a charter of *inspeximus* was issued in Chancery, of a previous charter which the said Earl of Derby had made to Robert de Mercinton, his clerk, 'of a certain solar and wardrobe and cellar under them, and of a certain other solar and green place and certain other place with definite measurements and bounds (*per certas metas et divisas*) within the Court of the said Earl in London with freedom of entrance and exit towards the street which is called New Street [*i.e.* Chancery Lane], and freedom of entrance and exit through the great door of the said Court by rendering a pair of white gloves each Easter.'[3] The king granted confirmation of the said charter.

A *wardrobe* was a strong room (old French, *garderobe*) for the keeping and making of cloths and woollen goods; a *solar* was an

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*
[2] *Charter Rolls*, Hen. III., m. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, Hen. III. No. 48, m. 7.

TABLE I.—Showing how the Court of the Earls of Derby and the Manor of Holeburn came to Edward II.



upper story; and a cellar was not necessarily underground, but was a place for storage divided into cells.[1]

Though nothing is said of a *computatorium*, it seems evident from the description that the property held on lease by Robert de Mercinton was similar in character to the customs house erected at the opposite end of the City by John le Chircheman (see chapter iii.) in succession to the *stapled halle* of John le Brun. It also seems evident from its topographical delineation that it occupied a similar situation to that now covered by Staple Inn at Holborn Bars.

If this surmise is correct the concession would be an important one, for it would enable him and his assistants and his merchants to have access to Chancery Lane and the Temple—which also meant the Thames—without passing through 'the gates of the Bars' into Holborn. All his contracts, and probably those of others, would have here been sealed and recorded, the king's private tax would here have been collected, and here, too, mercantile and other disputes may have been juridically settled.

In 1261 Robert de Ferrars became of age, and shortly afterwards was in rebellion against the king. As Dugdale says, 'when the flames of civil war began to break out none was more ready to increase it than he.'[2]

On the 12th of July 1266 a grant was made to Edmund of Lancaster, the king's second son, of the honour of Derby, forfeited by Robert de Ferrars, and the honour of Leicester, forfeited by Simon de Montfort, for high treason and rebellion. The honour of Leicester included 'the possessions of the Knights Templars at the New Temple and elsewhere in London and Middlesex.'[3]

[1] *Times' Century Dictionary.* The definitions given by Maigne D'Arnis in his Lexicon of terms used in ecclesiastical writings of the Middle Ages are interesting:—GARDAROBA. Vestiarium, locus in quo asservantur vestes. In aula Anglicana locus tantum clericis assignatus, idem qui in Francia Camera computorum appellatur; in ea asservantur chartae regiae, ipseque thesaurus regius. SOLARIUM. Domus contignatio vel cubiculum majus ac superius, tabulatum; *étage d'une maison, le plus haut étage.* Vectigal, quod pro solo penditur.

[2] *Baronage of England.*

[3] *Patent Rolls*, 8 Ed. II., Part I. m. 17.

Thus the Court of the Earl of Derby and the New Temple became part of the honour, afterwards known as the Duchy of Lancaster.

De Ferrars died in 1279 'a pauper with no inheritance but the gout'; so says a record of that date preserved in the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MANOR OF HOLBORN

THE 'river in the hollow,' as the name *Holeburn* means, started from Ken Wood, Highgate, and after receiving affluents from Hampstead Heath, flowed through Kentish Town and through St. Pancras until it reached what is now known as Battle Bridge. The bend in King's Cross Road marks on its east its windings until it entered what is now Pakenham Street from whence it flowed to Little Gray's Inn Lane under what was anciently called Portpool Bridge, where now is Rosebery Avenue Viaduct. Thence it turned to the east and entered what is now known as Farringdon Road, pursuing its course south until it emptied itself into the Fleet estuary. Holborn Viaduct is built over the hollow which once was spanned, at a much lower altitude, by *Holeburn* Bridge.

We shall see that the manor of Holborn was bounded on the east by the Fleet and *Holeburn* stream, but we cannot tell how far it extended north and west. It may have included Scrope's Inn, but it could not have comprised the Inn of the Bishop of Ely nor any part of Portepool. On the south side of the main street of Holborn there were two Inns existing in the time of Edward III., namely Thavy's or Davy's Inn and Staple Inn. Latterly an Inn came into existence called Barnard's Inn, which, originally owned by Dean Mackworth, was bequeathed by him in 1451 to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral. But it is almost certain that the manor of Holborn could not have reached so far west as Staple Inn or Barnard's Inn. Unfortunately, no survey of the manor is known to exist. We can only guess at its probable boundaries by what we know of the possessions of its subsequent

lords, the Le Stranges, the Stanley family of the Earldom of Derby, and the Earls of Dorset.

We know that Henry II. granted the manor to his son William Longspée (Longsword), who was succeeded by a son of the same name, and it is beyond question that the 'manor-house,' as we should call it, of this second William Longspée was in close proximity to Shoe Lane and the Fleet. For on the 14th March 1253 letters-patent were issued confirming the 'grant which the Mayor and Barons (*i.e.* Aldermen) of London made to William Longspée and Henry de Wengham (then Bishop of London and, two years later, Chancellor) of permission to block up the lane leading by the house of the said William near Fleet Bridge and the said Henry's house held of him by the Abbot of Cirencester.'[1]

The elder Longspée had married Ella, daughter and sole heir of the Earl of Salisbury and had thereby acquired the title and possessions of that earldom. In the records of Henry III.'s time he is spoken of as the king's uncle. The second William survived his sons, and at his death the property of the earldom fell to his daughter Margaret, who was married in 1270 to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who thus became lord of the manor of Holborn. It is from this famous Justiciar that Lincoln's Inn is said to have taken its name. But it has already been shown that the Inn of the Earl of Lincoln was in Shoe Lane. It is now apparent that the manor of *Holeburn* coincided practically with his property.

In 1292 Alesia, the daughter and only surviving child of the Earl of Lincoln, was betrothed at the age of nine to the king's nephew, Thomas, son of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. The Earl of Lincoln surrendered all his possessions into the king's hands, who made a re-grant of them to him for life only with reversion to Thomas and Alesia.[2]

In 1307 the king died and Edward II. came to the throne. Upon his proceeding to the north to carry on the war with

[1] *Close Rolls*, 37 Henry III., m. 19d.

[2] *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*: Matthew Gregson.

Scotland the Earl of Lincoln was appointed guardian of the kingdom. He died three years afterwards in 1310 and the manor of Holborn passed, as arranged, to Thomas and to Alesia.

But Thomas of Lancaster became a fugitive from London, being in rebellion against the king. In 1321 he was captured at his castle of Pontefract and was beheaded for treason, his possessions being forfeited.

The Holeburn manor property was entrusted by the king to Hamo de Chigwelle, then Mayor of London, who was probably a brother of Robert de Chigwelle. It is hardly likely he would have done this had the lands been outside the city's jurisdiction as the west side of Chancery Lane certainly was.

On the 12th July 1322 the king made a grant to 'Alesia, Countess of Lincoln, late the wife of Thomas of Lancaster, of (*inter alia*) all the lands and tenements in Holeburn in the suburb of London together with the knights' fees, etc., as freely and fully as they were held by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, her father, in the time of the king's progenitor, with remainder to Hugh le Despenser the younger and his heirs.' A mandate in pursuance was at the same time issued to Hamo de Chigwelle, 'keeper of the said lands and tenements in the street of Holeburn.'[1]

Three years later Alesia had married again; for license was issued on 10th February 1325 'for Ebulo Lestrange and Alesia his wife, the king's kinswoman, to enfeoff Hugh le Despenser of all the lands late of Henry de Lacy, Alesia's father, in Holeburn and for Hugh to re-grant the same to them for the life of Alesia.'[2] The said Hugh had also received a grant of the New Temple.

A subsequent record of Edward III.'s reign shows that this was really a sale by Alesia to Edward II. and his favourite Hugh le Despenser. Thus Edward II. now held in his own control the earldoms of Lancaster, Lincoln, Leicester, and Derby, which

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 16 Edward II., Part I. m. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, 18 Edward II., Part ii. m. 23.

included, as we have seen, Old Lincoln's Inn, and the manor of Holborn, the New Temple, the lands on the west side of Chancery Lane, and the Court of the Earl of Derby. But if we are right in our surmise as to the topographical identity of the sites, a part of the Court of the Earl of Derby had by this time been renamed Staple Inn, which we may assume was still let, as it had been fifty years before, on lease to those concerned in the wool trade, the collectors of the revenue thereon, and the clerks and apprentices of the law who busied themselves in connection with its disputes. And the man to whom this change of name was due was, as we shall see, the said Hugh le Despenser.

CHAPTER XV

THE HISTORY OF THE MANOR OF HOLBORN FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD III

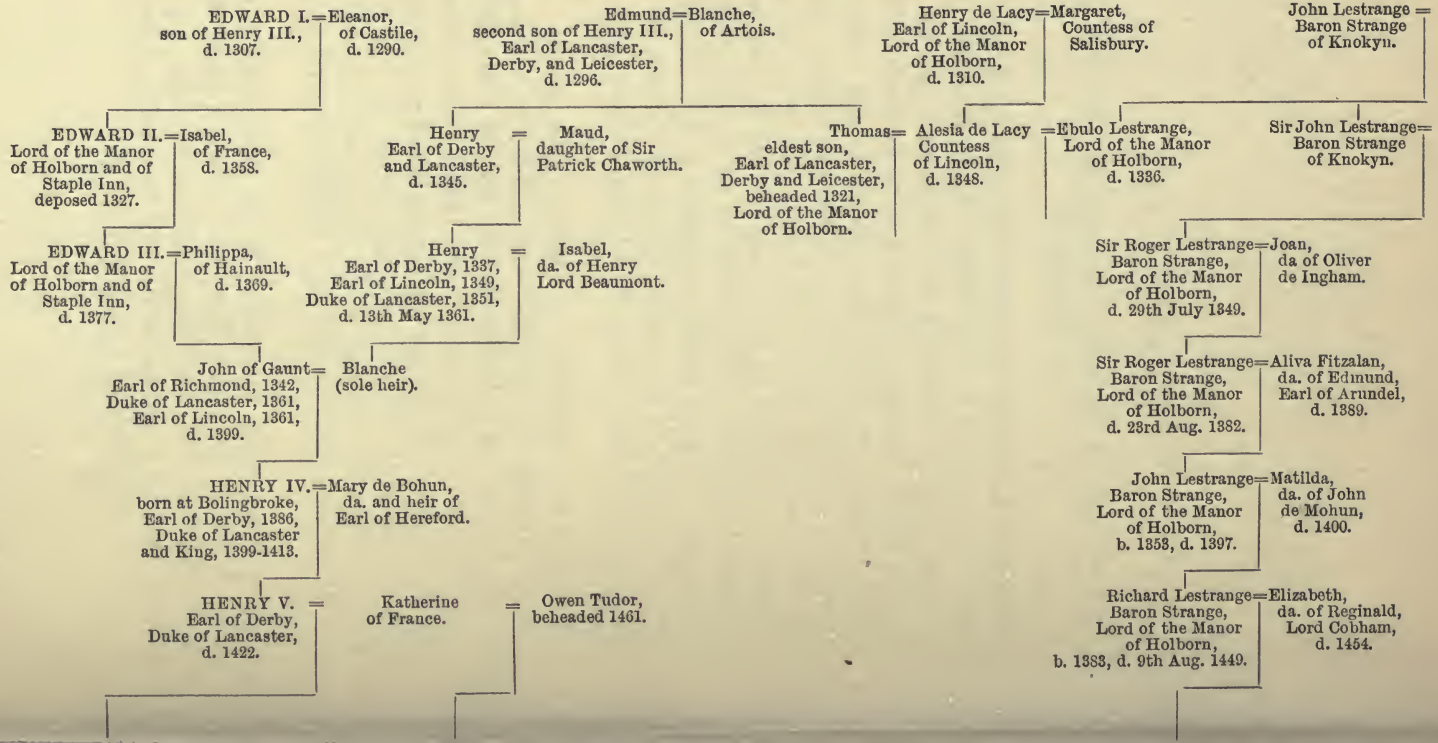
In Cotton's *Abridgement of Records in the Tower* (p. 8), it is stated that in their memorial to King Edward III., in the fourth year of his reign, 'Sir Eubal Lestrange and Alice his wife, late the wife of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, show how upon the death of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, all the hereditaments of the said Alice therein named were seized into the king's [Edward II.'s] hands until the said Alice was forced to release the same; whereof some part of the same were granted to her during her life, the remainder to Sir Hugh le Dispenser, the younger, of all of which they claim restitution. The king giveth unto them in fee hereditaments, parcel of the same, to the yearly value of 1200 marks, so as the said Eubal and Alice do release to the king all their right in the residue.'

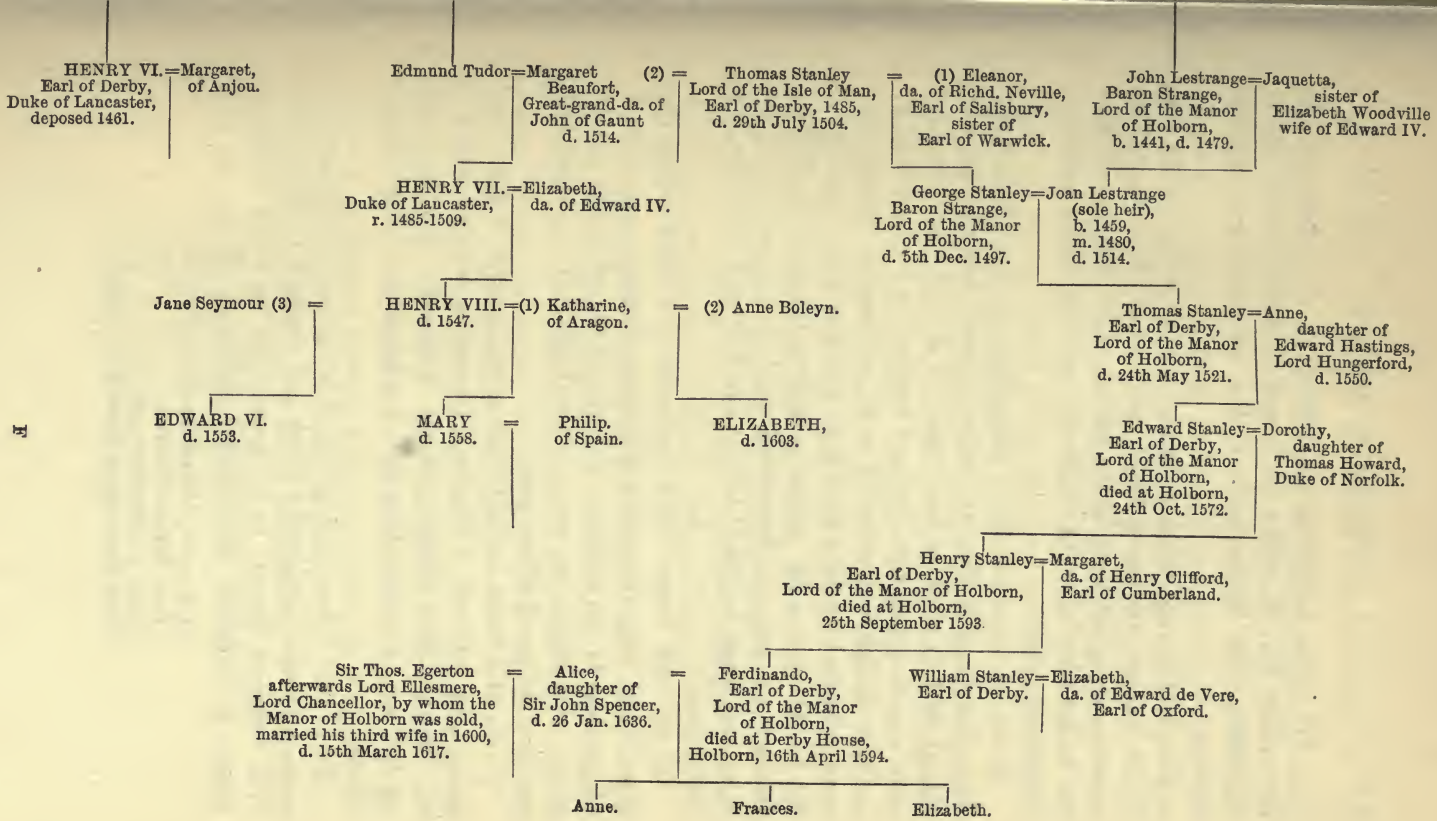
This gift was embodied in a charter, dated 16 Feb. 1331-2, whereby the king 'for the good service of Ebulo Lestrange and for the release and quit-claim to him by the said Ebulo and Alesia, his wife, of all interest in the castles, towns, manors, etc. which the king holds of her inheritance, which she granted and sold to Edward II. and the Despencers when she was sole and which by forfeiture escheated to the king, grants to the said Ebulo and Alesia (*inter alia*) the manor of Holleburn in the suburb of London.'[1]

Ebulo dying about the year 1336, the manor became vested solely in Alesia, who, after her first husband's death, had resumed the title of the Countess of Lincoln; but upon her death, in 1348, the manor passed, as arranged, to Ebulo's nephew and

[1] *Charter Rolls*, 5 Edward III. No. 83.

TABLE II.—Showing the connection of Staple Inn with the Kings of England and of the Manor of Holborn with the Barony of Strange and the Earldom of Derby.


EDWARD I. son of Henry III., d. 1307.
Eleanor, of Castile, d. 1290.
Edmund second son of Henry III., Earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester, d. 1296.
Blanche, of Artois.
Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 1310.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury.
John Lestrange Baron Strange of Knokyn.
EDWARD II. Lord of the Manor of Holborn and of Staple Inn, deposed 1327.
Isabel, of France, d. 1358.
Henry Earl of Derby and Lancaster, d. 1345.
Maud, daughter of Sir Patrick Chaworth.
Thomas eldest son, Earl of Lancaster, Derby and Leicester, beheaded 1321, Lord of the Manor of Holborn.
Alesia de Lacy Countess of Lincoln, d. 1348.
Ebulo Lestrange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 1336.
Sir John Lestrange Baron Strange of Knokyn.
EDWARD III. Lord of the Manor of Holborn and of Staple Inn, d. 1377.
Philippa, of Hainault, d. 1369.
Henry Earl of Derby, 1337, Earl of Lincoln, 1349, Duke of Lancaster, 1351, d. 13th May 1361.
Isabel, da. of Henry Lord Beaumont.
Sir Roger Lestrange Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 29th July 1349.
Joan, da of Oliver de Ingham.
John of Gaunt Earl of Richmond, 1342, Duke of Lancaster, 1361, Earl of Lincoln, 1361, d. 1399.
Blanche (sole heir).
Sir Roger Lestrange Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 23rd Aug. 1382.
Aliva Fitzalan, da. of Edmund, Earl of Arundel, d. 1389.
HENRY IV. born at Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, 1386, Duke of Lancaster and King, 1399-1413.
Mary de Bohun, da. and heir of Earl of Hereford.
John Lestrange Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, b. 1353, d. 1397.
Matilda, da. of John de Mohun, d. 1400.
HENRY V. Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster, d. 1422.
Katherine of France.
Owen Tudor, beheaded 1461.
Richard Lestrange Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, b. 1383, d. 9th Aug. 1449.
Elizabeth, da. of Reginald, Lord Cobham, d. 1454.


HENRY VI. Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster, deposed 1461.
Margaret, of Anjou.
Edmund Tudor
Margaret Beaufort, Great-grand-da. of John of Gaunt d. 1514.
(2)
Thomas Stanley Lord of the Isle of Man, Earl of Derby, 1485, d. 29th July 1504.
(1) Eleanor, da. of Richd. Neville, Earl of Salisbury, sister of Earl of Warwick.
John Lestrange Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, b. 1441, d. 1479.
Jaquetta, sister of Elizabeth Woodville wife of Edward IV.
HENRY VII. Duke of Lancaster, r. 1485-1509.
Elizabeth, da. of Edward IV.
George Stanley Baron Strange, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 5th Dec. 1497.
Joan Lestrange (sole heir), b. 1459, m. 1480, d. 1514.
Jane Seymour (3)
HENRY VIII. d. 1547.
(1) Katharine, of Aragon.
(2) Anne Boleyn.
Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, d. 24th May 1521.
Anne, daughter of Edward Hastings, Lord Hungerford, d. 1550.
EDWARD VI. d. 1553.
MARY d. 1558.
Philip. of Spain.
ELIZABETH, d. 1603.
Edward Stanley Earl of Derby, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, died at Holborn, 24th Oct. 1572.
Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
Henry Stanley Earl of Derby, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, died at Holborn, 25th September 1593.
Margaret, da. of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.
Sir Thos. Egerton afterwards Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, by whom the Manor of Holborn was sold, married his third wife in 1600, d. 15th March 1617.
Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, d. 26 Jan. 1636.
Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, Lord of the Manor of Holborn, died at Derby House, Holborn, 16th April 1594.
William Stanley Earl of Derby.
Elizabeth, da. of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Anne.
Frances.
Elizabeth.

heir, Sir Roger Lestrange, Lord Strange of Knokyn, whose descendants held it until 1474, as may be proved by the various *Inquisitions Post Mortem* made at the deaths of the successive owners.

Thus in 1336 (28 October) inquisition was taken finding that Ebulo Lestrange, deceased, held in chief in his demesne as of fee a messuage in Holeburn, in the suburb of London, sometime of the Earl of Lincoln, worth 60s. yearly, and that Roger Lestrange, knight, is his heir.[1]

On the 4th September 1383, inquisition was taken finding that Roger Lestrange of Knokyn, knight, deceased (son of the former Roger), held in chief in his demesne as of fee a great tenement, with a garden and sixteen shops annexed, in the parish of St. Andrew of Holeburn extended at £7, 4s. yearly; another tenement, inhabited by John Kersler, in the same parish extended at £6, 5s. 4d. yearly, and another tenement, inhabited by William Benet, in the same parish extended at £4, 6s. 8d. yearly; and that John Lestrange, knight, is his son and heir, and is of the age of thirty years.[2]

On the 13th August 1398, inquisition was taken finding that John, son of Roger Lestrange of Knokyn, deceased, was seised in his demesne of the manor of Holborne in the suburb of London, jointly with Matilda his wife, and that Richard is his son and heir, and is of the age of fifteen years.[3]

On the 21st September 1462, licence was granted to John, Lord Strange, son and heir of Elizabeth Lestrange, deceased, late wife of Richard, Lord Strange, knight, deceased, 'who is nearly of full age,' to enter into all his possessions in England and Wales.[4]

But in 1474 John was deprived of his property in Holborn on account of some irregularity which had occurred in the transfer of it 'without licence' to his grandfather by Ebulo Lestrange, parson of Gresford, and Richard Edenenet, parson of Llan-

[1] *Inq. p. m.*, 9 Edward III., 42.
[2] *Ibid.*, 6 Richard II., 64.
[3] *Ibid.*, 21 Richard II., 52.
[4] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, Edward IV., 1462.

menagh, who had temporarily held it. The property was taken into the hands of the king, or, as we should say, thrown into Chancery, and Thomas Stanley, Lord of the Isle of Man, and Steward of the Household, William Grene, clerk, Morgan Kidwelly, and Richard Morys, were granted the custody of it so long as it there remained.[1] The story of the suit cannot be told briefly, but the chief pleaders were John Broughton, Richard Godfrey, John Asshfeld, and John Gyrton, who claimed that they had been enfeoffed of the manor by one William Tommes, who, they said, had held it of the king.[2]

John Broughton, Richard Godfrey, John Asshfeld, and John Gyrton were justices.[3] A John Girton was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1466, and a John Broughton (probably a son of the former) was specially admitted in 1481-2. William Thommes, clerk, is mentioned as a grantee, with others who were justices, in a grant (apparently one of trust), dated 8th July 1424.[4] William Grene was probably Sir Wm. Greene, who was Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, from 1447 to 1478, and Morgan Kidwelly was Attorney General to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother.

The dispute necessitated a further inquisition on the 3rd April 1474,[5] and an Exemplification of Title of John, Lord Strange, made for John Broughton, Esq., on the 10th May 1477.[6] It was stated at this inquisition that the manor was held in chief, and was worth 20 marks (£13, 6s. 8d.) yearly.

Lord Strange had married Jaquetta, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV., and died on the 16th October 1479, leaving as his heir a daughter named Joan, who married George, the son of Thomas Stanley, Lord of the Isle of Man, who had received the custody of the manor of Holborn.

At an inquisition taken at the Guildhall, the 26th March 1480,

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 13 Edward IV., Part ii. m. 17.
[2] *Inq. p. m.*, 13 Edward IV., No. 44.
[3] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1473.
[4] *Ibid.*, 2 Henry VI., Part iii. p. 211.
[5] *Inq. p. m.*, 13 Edward IV., 44.
[6] *Pat. Roll*, 17 Edward IV., Part i. m. 4.

the jurors gave an account of the descent of the manor from the time of Richard II. They said it came to this John, Lord Strange, as son and heir of Richard Lestrange, through which the said John entered into the said manor, and was seised in his demesne as of fee tail, and being seised thereof, he died on the 16th day of October in the nineteenth year of the reign of Edward IV., after whose death the manor descended to Joan, daughter and heir of the said John, son of Richard, which said Joan is now the wife of George Stanley, knight, now Lord Strange, and the said Joan is now of the age of 21 years and more. The jurors say also that the said manor is held of our lord the king, but by what services they are ignorant.[1]

On the 12th February 1481, licence was granted to George Stanley, knight, and Joan his wife, daughter and heiress of John Lestrange, late Lord Strange, to enter freely into all castles and other possessions and hereditaments in England and Wales and the marches of Wales, late of the said John, saving to the king homage and fealty.

But Thomas Stanley, Lord of Man, had married as his second wife, Margaret Beaufort, the widow of Edmund Tudor. Hence when Henry Tudor, son of Edmund and Margaret, in 1485 fought with Richard II. on the field of Bosworth for the crown, Thomas Stanley, through whose timely assistance the battle had been won, assumed the privilege of placing that crown on his step-son's head. In return for his services he received at the hands of Henry VII. the title of the Earl of Derby, which had previously been one of the distinctions of the Duchy of Lancaster.

George Stanley, his son, died in the lifetime of his father, and the latter, dying in 1504, was succeeded by his grandson, another Thomas, who died in 1521.[2]

On the 28th January 1521-2, inquisition was taken at the Guildhall finding that long before the death of Thomas, Earl of Derby, Joan Stanley, Lady Lestrange (his mother), was seised of the manor of Holborn and of twelve messuages, forty gardens, and

[1] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, 20 Edward IV., 99.

[2] His will was proved in 1524 (P. C. C., 21 Bodfelde).

one acre of land in Holborn and Fleet Street. So seised, she by charter, dated 26 May 1506, granted the said premises to Robert Brudenell, William Grevyll, William Fayrefax, Richard Choke, Anthony Fitzherbert, Thomas Stanley, and George Herberne, and their heirs, to the uses specified in certain indentures, dated 26 May 1506 (the same date as her said charter), and made between Lady Lestrange of the one part, and John Pynner and Parme his wife of the other part. Afterwards by charter, dated 20th October 1510, Lady Lestrange granted to Thomas Stanley, one of the sons of Peter Stanley, Esquire, and Margery his wife, formerly of Ewlowe in the County of Flint, all the said manor of Holborn and other premises for his life. By bill, dated 6th November 1516, made between the said Earl and Thomas Stanley, it was agreed that the Earl before Easter next following should demise all the rents and profits of the courts of his manors of Milton, Cambs., and Sturminster Newton, Dorset, to the said Thomas, and the said Thomas should release to the said Earl such right and title as he had in the manor of Holborn. All the said premises are held of the king in free burgage, and are worth *per annum* clear £10. The said Earl died on the 24th May last past. Edward is his son and next heir, and was then aged 12 years and 14 days.[1]

It is fairly obvious that the names mentioned in Lady Lestrange's charter of 1506 were those of legal persons. Robert Brudenell was King's Serjeant in 1504, and became Judge of King's Bench; William Grevyll became Judge of Common Pleas; William Fairfax was of Gray's Inn, and became Judge of Common Pleas; Richard Choke and Anthony Fitzherbert also were elevated to the same Bench.[2] In the same year Serjeant Brudenell figures as principal tenant in the conveyance of Gray's Inn to the Society of that Inn by Edmund, Lord Grey de Wilton. It is much to be desired that some detailed description of the premises mentioned in Lady Lestrange's charter and the uses to which those premises were put could be discovered.

[1] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, 13 Henry VIII., 95.
[2] Foss, *Lives of the Judges of England.*

In the records of the Exchequer Augmentation Office, under date of 1522, there is a valuation of the manors, lands, and tenements late of Thomas, Earl of Derby. It is there stated:[1]

The manor of Holborne is worth in rents and farms at a yearly average	£22	7	0
From which [deduct] in rents repaid (nil) and depreciated rents	0	9	2
And [deduct] for all the money given out by Joan, Lady Strange, in her widowhood to a certain John Pynnere of London, tallow chandler, by her charter made to him, until a certain sum of money from him had in the lifetime of George, late Lord Strange, may be repaid to the same John, namely, . . .	£6	13	4
As in the said charter more fully appears, for the year, etc.			
And there remains	£15	4	6
From which [deduct] the fee of William Wichriche, bailiff and collector of the rents there .	2	0	0
And there remains above and beyond . . .	£13	4	6

Edward Stanley, the son of Thomas, Earl of Derby, was made a ward of the Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln, who had held the town-house of the bishopric, the Old Temple, next to Staple Inn. In 1529 Edward became of age, and entered into his property. It was in that year that the first feoffment of Staple Inn to the Readers of Gray's Inn is said to have taken place.

On the 24th November 1548 an indenture was made between Roger Pateshale of Myntye, Co. Gloucester, gent, of the one part, and Gregory Nicholas, citizen and mercer of London, of the other part, whereby, in consideration of £100, Roger Pateshale sold to Gregory Nicholas, his heirs, and assigns, 'all that capital or great messuage with the appurtenances, set, lying, and being in the parish of St. Andrew of Holborne in the suburb of London,

[1] Exchequer Augmentation Office, Misc. Books, vol. 383.

commonly called Davy's Inn.'[1] A footnote records that it was made at Derby House in Shoe Lane before Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Bench, and his fellow-justices.[2] This circumstance suggests the inquiry whether the old house of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was still being used for general law business or whether the deed was completed there, because Davy's Inn was part of the Manor of Holborn. It was in this same year, viz. 1548, that the Society of Lincoln's Inn bought Furnival's Inn. They bought the present Lincoln's Inn in 1580.

Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, died at his house in Holborn on the 24th October 1572, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who died, also at the same house, on the 25th September 1593. On the 21st of September, four days before he died, Henry Stanley made his will, wherein occurs the following clause: 'Whereas I, the said Earl of Derby, have heretofore to and for the preferment

[1] Some confusion seems to have arisen respecting Davy's Inn. The most ancient records referring to this Inn always give the spelling as Davy and not Tavy or Thavie. The will of John Tavy, armourer, was proved in the Court of Hustings in 1348. He therein orders that after the death of his wife Alice an inn where the apprentices were accustomed to dwell [ad totum illud hospicium in (quo) apprenticii habitare solebant] should be sold and the proceeds devoted to the maintenance of a chantry. John Tavy was, in 1342, one of the four members of the Company of Armourers appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen and sworn to observe and supervise the then new regulations respecting the making and selling of armour. (Riley's *Memorials*). He would certainly have had his own apprentices, and it was these he probably referred to in his will. He would most likely have been a member of the Fraternity or Guild of St. George of the men of the Mystery of the Armourers, St. George being the Armourers' patron saint. This fact seems to suggest that his inn became St. George's Inn.

The will of John Davy was proved in 1398, also in the Court of Hustings. He desired to be buried in the Church of St. Andrew. To Alice his wife (it is curious that both Christian names are the same, John and Alice, Tavy and Davy) he left his lands and tenements in Holborne for life, with remainder to John Osebern and his wife Emma, testator's daughter, in tail; remainder in trust for the maintenance of a chantry in St. Mary's Chapel in the Church of St. Andrew aforesaid. His goods to be divided into three parts, one to be devoted to works of piety, a second to his wife, and a third to the aforesaid John and Emma.

Here is no evidence that John Davy ever held Thavie's Inn, but neither is there in the will of John Tavy that the latter ever held it. The matter requires more research before the received opinion can be left unquestioned.

[2] *The Site of Lincoln's Inn*, p. 28. W. P. Baildon.

of my second and younger son, William Stanley, Esq., by my deed executed in that behalf conveyed or assured unto my said son William for and during his natural life . . . all that my manor and lordship of Holborn lying and being in the county of Middlesex. . . . I, the said Earl, do by these presents ratify, allow, give, bequeath, and confirm unto my said younger son, William Stanley, for and during his natural life all and every the said manors, etc.'[1]

On the death of Henry his son Ferdinando succeeded to the earldom, but died seven months afterwards, on the 16th April 1594, also at Derby House, leaving a widow and three daughters. His brother William succeeded him in the earldom; but the widow and daughters of Ferdinando did not allow him the undisputed possession of the property; and for several years he was involved in ruinous litigation over it. The manor of Holborn had never been held in tail male; its owners had numbered Lady Lestrange, widow of George Stanley, Alesia, Countess of Lincoln, and Margaret, Countess of Salisbury; neither by will nor charter of any Earl of Derby could the inheritance according to the custom of the City of London be changed.

On the 13th June 1595 inquisition after the death of Ferdinando was taken at the Guildhall, finding that Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, who died 24th October 1572, was seised in his demesne as of fee of the manor of Holborn, with the appurtenances in the suburb of London, and within the county of the City, and of 100 houses, 40 gardens, and one acre of land in Holborn and Shoe Lane. By his charter, dated 20th March 1570, he had settled the same on himself for life, with remainder to Henry, Lord Strange, his son and heir, for 99 years (if he should live so long), with remainder to his first and other sons successively in tail male, etc. The said Henry died 25th September 1593 at Holborn. Ferdinando, his son and heir, died 16th April 1594 at Holborn aforesaid, without male heirs of his body. 'Whereupon William, now Earl of Derby, entered upon the premises. The said manor and premises are held of the Queen in free burgage, and are worth £10 yearly clear.

[1] P. C. C. 66, Dixy, 1593.

The ladies Anne, Frances, and Elizabeth are Ferdinando's daughters and next heirs. His widow is still living at Holborne.'[1]

After a lengthy fight between the claimants of this and of the Isle of Man lordship, the manor came to be of the right of Alice, the widow of Ferdinando. Then followed a somewhat Gilbertian episode. The judge in the case married the leading plaintiff. Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (*i.e.* the Chancellor), took unto himself, as his portion and reward, the Dowager Countess of Derby. The manor of Holborn now passed out of the hands of the Stanley family. In 1602 Sir Thomas Egerton sold it to Lord Buckhurst, as will appear by the following fine levied in that year.

'This is the final agreement made at Westminster three weeks after St. Trinity, 44 Eliz. A.D. between Sir Thomas Sackville, Knight of the Garter, Lord Buckhurst, Great Treasurer of England, plaintiff, and Sir Thomas Egerton, Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and Alice his wife, deforciants, of the manor of Holborne and 300 messuages, 100 cottages, 100 gardens, and 20s. of rent in the parishes of St. Andrew in Holborn and St. Bridget in Fleet Street. The said Sir Thomas Egerton and Alice acknowledge the said premises to be the right of the said Sir Thomas Sackville and his heirs for ever, and the last named for this acknowledgement remise, etc., gives the said Sir Thomas Egerton and Alice £610 sterling.'[2]

Lord Buckhurst was created Earl of Dorset, 13th March 1603-4, and died in 1608. After his death an 'inquisition' was taken at East Grinsted in Sussex, on the 5th September 1609. 'The jurors say that he was seised in his demesne as of fee (*inter alia*) of the manor of Holborne and Shoe Lane, with all their appurtenances, in the parish of St. Andrew in Holborne and of St. Brigitt [St. Bride's], within the suburbs of London; and of the manor or capital messuage with appurtenances, called Dorset House, otherwise called Salisbury Court, and in a messuage called "le Hanginsword," and in all the messuages, tenements, and hereditaments to the same manor or capital messuage belonging in the said parish of

[1] *Inq. p. m. Chan.*, 37 Eliz., Part ii. 116.
[2] Feet of Fines, London, Trinity, 44 Eliz.

St. Bride; and of six messuages in Dorset Court and Dorset Alley in St. Bride's parish in the several tenures of Anthony, Viscount Montague, Richard Cormok, Esq., John Goughe, Reginald Wraye, Thomas Terringham, and William Brownlowe, or their assigns; and of three messuages in the parish of St. Mary Somerset, in the City of London, now or late in the occupation of the Society of Clothworkers; and of the rectory of St. Dunstan's in the West and of the advowson of the vicarage of the same church; and so seised, by his will, dated 10th August, 45 Elizabeth (1602), he bequeathed to his wife the messuage called Salisbury House otherwise Salisbury Place or Salisbury Court or Sackville Place or Dorset House, and all his messuage in Hangingsword Lane or Alley, otherwise Old Wood Lane or Alley, or in Salisbury Lane or Alley, or in Hangingsword Court or in the open street called Fleet Street, which manor house and premises were purchased by his late father, Sir Richard Sackville to him and the Lady Winifred, his wife, by letters patent, dated 12th May, 6 Eliz. (1564). The manor of Holborn and Shoe Lane is held of the king in free burgage and is worth clear yearly £10. The capital messuage called Dorset House, and the messuage called the Hangingsword, and the six messuages in Dorset Court, are held of the king, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage and not in chief or by knight's service, and are worth yearly £7.'[1]

This inquisition, after the death of the Earl of Dorset, affords us some idea of the situation of the manor of Holborn. We are not further concerned with its subsequent history; in the reign of James I. it was already getting broken up into new buildings. But we can now see quite clearly that it could not have extended south of Fleet Street, and that it took its name from the river of Holeburn, which bounded its eastern border.

Note.—I had traced the history of this property almost completely, as I wished to make quite sure that Staple Inn was not included in the 'lands and tenements in the street of Holeburn' belonging to Henry de Lacy, and subsequently to the Earl of Lancaster, when I came across Mr. W. P. Baildon's book upon 'The site of Lincoln's Inn.' I was pleased to find that his conclusions are in part very much the same as my own; but the priority of the discoveries respecting the manor of Holborn is his.

[1] *Inq. p. m. Court of Wards*, B. 34, 202.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORDINANCE OF THE STAPLE; HOW STAPLE INN RECEIVED ITS NAME

In 1313, Hugh le Despenser, lord of Glamorgan, induced Edward II., with whom he was then in high favour, to order that all wools, hides, and woolfells intended for export should be brought to fixed places, so that the losses accruing to the king through native merchants and foreigners buying wool, etc., within the realm, and exporting the same at their will without paying the recognised taxes might be avoided. An Ordinance, therefore, was issued on the 20th May of that year which forbad the export of wool from any place except the towns mentioned therein.[1] And on the 4th June 1326, it was added that 'inasmuch as the said Hugh was the principal mover that the said staple should be held in fixed places, he was granted a staple in his town of Cardiff (Kerdyf) in consideration thereof.'[2]

On the 22nd August 1313, Richard Stureye was appointed under the new charter first 'Mayor of the Commonalty of Merchants of the Realm of the Staple of wool, hides, and woolfells,' and writs of aid for him were sent to the collectors of customs on these articles throughout the kingdom, directing them to render him assistance in giving effect to the king's mandate. And the king 'commanded him, under his seal, and without delay, *to fully inform him in the Chancery*, touching all merchants, who from the date of the completion of the charter and of the proclamation, have transgressed against the Ordinance, and have in reason been convicted by him as Mayor, and by the Council of the Merchants of the

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 6 Edward II., Part ii. m. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, 19 Edward II., Part ii. m. 5.

Realm; and also of the sums of money imposed by him (as fine) on such transgressors, that he may take further measures therein, according to the form of the Ordinance.'[1]

Stureye was succeeded in 1320 by John de Cherleton, a mercer, whose property in shops lay on the south side of Holborn, upon the site now occupied by Wallis and Co.

The Saxon word *staple* which had been falling into disuse during the reigns of the earlier Plantagenets—it does not occur once in Plantagenet records until the year 1310[2]—was now revived; but it received a specialised significance, only the fixed places appointed for the export of wools, hides, and woolfells becoming known as staples. The French king was quick to follow the example of Edward II.; for the next year, on the 28th May 1314, King Philip of France wrote to the King of England requesting him to compel his merchants to take their wool to the staple which he had established at St. Omer, and to abandon the Fair at Lille.[3] Edward III. also subsequently established staples at Calais and other towns in his continental dominions. It is from this year, then, 1313, that we may most probably date the establishment and naming of the *stapled halles* existing at the gates of the City of London.

The following are the most important articles of the Ordinance of the Wool Staple:—

'That the staple of the merchants of wools, hides, and woolfells, and tin shall be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, London, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol, for England; at Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork, for Ireland; at Shrewsbury, Carmarthen, and Cardiff, for Wales; for tin of Cornwall, at Lostwithiel and Truro; and for tin of Devonshire, at Ashburton; and at no other places.

'That at these places all aliens may buy the said wools, hides, and woolfells, and tin, and when they have bought the same, paid custom thereon, and had them sealed with the "cocket," they may

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 7 Edward II., Part i. m. 15.

[2] *Corp. Letter Book, D*, p. 241. R. R. Sharpe, where the name is applied to the market at Antwerp.

[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*. Record Ed. ii. 248.

export the same to any country not at enmity with the king, whereof merchant strangers are to have notice.

'That any alien directly or indirectly buying the same except at those places, shall forfeit all he has bought.

'That merchants of England, Ireland, and Wales who wish to carry the same elsewhere shall not do so till they have stayed fifteen days at some "staple."

'That all people of those lands may buy and sell the same at any part thereof, provided no sale be made to aliens except at the "staple," and that the same be not exported by aliens or denizens except from the "staple."

'That the merchants of the king's obedience shall make no confederation among themselves to diminish the price thereof, or to delay merchant-strangers in their purchases or sale of the same, on pain of punishment by the king and his council. Merchants and people of Gascony and of the duchy of Gienne, who are or shall be of the king's obedience, are to be reckoned denizens, and not aliens for the above purposes.

'That all merchants-privy and all merchants-strangers shall be governed by the law-merchant touching all transactions at the staple.

'That no man or woman of boroughs, cities, or commons outside boroughs or cities, in England, Ireland, or Wales shall, after Christmas next, use cloth of his or her own buying, which was not made in England, Ireland, or Wales under pain of punishment by the king. Be it known that all people are reckoned of the commons except the king, queen, earls, barons, knights, and ladies and their children born in wedlock, archbishops, bishops, and other persons and people of Holy Church and seculars who can spend £40 sterling a year of their rents, until this ordinance and prohibition be further extended at the king's pleasure.

'That every man and woman in England, Ireland, and Wales may make cloths as long and as short as they please.

'That in order to encourage people to work upon cloths, the king would have all men know that he will grant suitable franchises to the fullers, weavers, dyers, and other clothworkers who

live mainly by this mistery, whenever such franchises are asked for.

'That wool-staplers are taken into the king's protection in coming to or going from the realm, and all persons are prohibited under pain of forfeiture of their goods, from doing them any harm. The fellow-townsmen of any doing them wrong shall be responsible to the king. The mayor or bailiffs of the town where their shipping is, shall take security of the mariners of the same that they will do them no harm.'[1]

On 16th September 1332, it was agreed to in Parliament that the staple of wools, hides, and woolfells for export be held at the towns mentioned and at no other within the realm, and that 'no staple shall be held in the land of another lord; that native merchants may buy wool where they will within the realm at all places, *uppeland* and elsewhere, where wools are sold for export, and convey them to the staples, there to remain until sold; that no merchant strangers or aliens may buy at abbeys, or elsewhere upland, but only at the staples and at fairs and markets, carrying all that they buy in fairs and markets to be sold at the staples, as the native merchants do; that any merchants, native as well as strangers, may export beyond the seas and elsewhere, at will, what they buy at the staples on payment of the customs' dues, provided that they hold no staple beyond the seas; that merchant strangers buying contrary to this agreement shall forfeit the merchandise, etc.'[2]

Nevertheless, on the 17th April 1334, the king granted licence to John de Hothum, Bishop of Ely, 'to ship his wools at any port of the realm where there are collectors of custom, and to export the same on payment of the ancient custom, notwithstanding the late Ordinance of the Staple of Wools.'[3]

The Ordinance of the Wool Staple had one result which modern political economists would have predicted of it, as may be seen by the following letter. 'Edward, by the Grace of God, King

[1] *Patent Rolls*, 19 Edward II. m. 9 and 1 Edward III. Part ii. m. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, 6 Edward III. Part iii. m. 15.
[3] *Ibid.*, 8 Edward III. Part i., m. 21.

of England, etc., to our well-beloved Hamon de Chigewelle, Mayor of our City of London, greeting. We have read the letters that you have sent us, in the which you have signified unto us that Flemings, Brabanters, and other aliens, have been suddenly buying throughout our land all the teasels that they can find; and are also buying butter, madder, woad, fuller's earth, and all other things which pertain to the working of cloth, in order that they may disturb the staple and common profit of our realm, etc.' Then follows a prohibition against the export of such things. 'You are not to allow any such things to pass through your bailiwick, by reason whereof the profit of *our staple* may be disturbed.'[1]

It is noticeable that the king speaks of 'our staple' as if the proceeds of the tax were part of his private income. And so, as a matter of fact, they were. Blackstone, in his *Commentaries* (vol. i. book i. ch. viii.) states this clearly. 'These customs on wool, skins, and leather were formerly the hereditary customs of the Crown; and were due on the exportation only of the said three commodities and of none other; which were styled *the staple commodities of the kingdom*, because they were obliged to be brought to these ports *where the king's Staple was established* in order to be there first rated and then exported.'

In the year 1353 the Ordinance of the Staple was embodied in a Statute of the realm.[2] London was no longer mentioned as a Staple, Westminster being substituted, the bounds of the staple there being afterwards defined as commencing at Temple Bar and ending at Tothill.[3] The articles specially mentioned were wool, leather, fells, and lead; these were to be weighed in the presence of the customs officers and sealed under the seal of the Mayor of the Staple. On the removal of the wools, etc., from the Staple, an Indenture was to be made between the Mayor of the Staple and the customs officers. Offenders against the provisions of the Statute were to be apprehended by hue and cry and punished before the Steward and Marshal

[1] *Memorials of London*, p. 149. H. T. Riley.
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, 27 Edward III., Stat. ii. c. 1.
[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, xxxiii., 28 Edward III. (1354).

of the King's House, or before the Mayor and ministers of the Staple. If the Steward and Marshal should not be present '*the Mayor and Ministers of the Staple shall proceed in the Process and do justice according to the Law of the Staple* notwithstanding the not coming of the steward or marshall or lieutenant.'

The Staple was to have its own justices and the mayor and justices of the Staple only were to have jurisdiction, provided always that a plaintiff might have the option whether 'he will sue his action or quarrel before the justices of the Staple by the law of the Staple or, in another place, at the common law.' 'And if merchants or their people being in the Staple, because of the same do commit felony, or be slain, robbed, or maimed by any persons, the Mayor of the Staple and other meet persons shall be assigned justices to hear and determine the said felonies and maims within the Staple without delay, according to the common law.'

Every Mayor of the Staples was to have power to take recognizances of debts; all obligations were to be sealed with their seal; they were to 'take and hold in prison the bodies of debtors,' if they be found in the Staple, till their debts be paid; and to arrest the goods of a debtor; and if neither debtor nor his goods were to be found within the Staple, execution was to be awarded out of Chancery.

Places and streets were to be ordained in each Staple 'where the wools and other merchandises shall be put,' and houses for those coming to the Staple were to be found by the mayor and constables of the Staple at reasonable times.

All appeals from the Court of the Staple were to be made in Chancery. In 1363 the penalty of death under Statute of the Staple was repealed, and cases likely to involve such a penalty were removed to another court.

We may be perfectly sure that many of the provisions which by this famous Act of Parliament then received statutory embodiment had already been customary for many years. The Act supplies confirmation, if confirmation were needed, of the concurrent uses to which ancient markets were put.

Other towns were afterwards added to those at first mentioned

in the Statute. Calais had been permitted to have a 'staple' in 1348, but it was removed in 1369, though afterwards again reopened, and it was still in existence in 1558 when the town was captured by the French. In the reign of Henry VIII. a grant was made to 'Barth. Baynham to be keeper of the king's place called Staple Inn in Calais with 4d. sterling, English, a day,' and to be one of the soldiers with 8d. a day.[1] The deputy-governor of the town was lodged at Staple Inn and there also were kept the keys of the town.

In the municipal archives of Waterford, Ireland, it is recorded in 1469 that 'It is ordained by all the commons' assent that the Mayor nor constables of the Staple should receive no manner of man into the freedom of the same without the advice of the merchants of the Staple. And that no man be received merchant of the Staple unless that afore he be sworn of the said city, and of the English nation, or else have his liberty of the king.' And in 1459 'it was ordained by common assent of the city that if any man hereafter will give his goods, etc., unto any other man in defraud of the court of the said city or of the *Staple Court of the king, etc.*', certain penalties would be inforced.'[2]

There is reason to believe that the 'cocket' did not long remain at Holborn Bars. It was at least on one occasion taken to the New Temple, where a wharf, called in the records 'a bridge,' had been built at the end of Middle Lane;[3] it was taken to St. Stephen's, Westminster, more than once, brought back again, and again restored. This may have been a mere matter of convenience and have been done more often than the records indicate.

In the *Corporation Letter Books* there is a letter (from the Mayor, etc., of the city), dated 30th July 1326 to King Edward II. praying him 'not to remove the tron for wool to the New Temple, which lay outside the city and was a difficult place to bring wool to by river, especially in time of frost.'[4]

[1] *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry* VIII., vol. xvii. p. 216. James Gairdner.

[2] *Historical MSS. Commission, Tenth Report.* App. to Part v. pp. 296, 306.

[3] *Memorials*, pp. 306, 376. H. T. Riley.

[4] *Corporation Letter Book, E*, page 211. R. R. Sharpe.

In 1353 an Ordinance of Edward III. was issued 'for laying a tax of 3d. on every sack of wool and every 300 of woolfels, 6d. on every last of leather, 4d. on every fodder of lead, 4d. on every ton of wine, and a ½d. on every 20s. value of all other goods carried either by land or water to the Staple of Westminster, in order for repairing the highway leading from the gate of London called Temple Bar to the gate of the Abbey at Westminster, that highway being, by the frequent passing of carts and horses carrying merchandises and provisions to the said Staple, become so deep and miry and the pavement so broken and worn as to be very dangerous both to men and carriages; and as the proprietors of the houses near and leading to that Staple have by means of the said Staple raised their rents, the way before those houses should be paved at their charge; and that part of the said way where no houses are should be paved anew out of the said duties; and the remainder of the said duties should be applied towards the erecting a bridge (?a pier) near the Royal Palace of Westminster for the conveniency of the Staple.'[1]

In 1372 it was enacted by the City authorities that 'no boatman shall take for his fare between London and Westminster more than 2d. and the same until his boat is full of people, when he shall take 3d. at the highest, for his boat, himself and his partner, on pain of imprisonment, as well in London as in the Staple of Westminster.'[2]

In 1342 it had been agreed that 'the Accounts of all such as received wool, aid, or other money for the king, should be heard by Commission, and that the same should be enroled in the Chancery.'[3]

It would not be unlikely that these accounts were prepared at Staple Hall, where, as Dugdale puts it, 'the merchants for wool (that is, the Merchants of the Staple) had their meetings.'[4] It is curious that a meeting at Staple Inn, even as late as the nineteenth century, was called 'an Accounts.'

[1] *Fœdera.* Record Ed. vol. iii. Part i. 269.
[2] *Memorials of London*, p. xlvi. H. T. Riley.
[3] Cotton's *Abridgement of the Records in the Tower*, p. 32.
[4] Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, lxviii.

In the records of Lay Subsidies there is a poll-tax for Holborn Bars preserved which is doubtfully calendared under Richard II.[1] It consists of six names only, the first of which is John Frank, who was one of the King's Clerks and, in 1394, was collector of the King's rents in Calais. He became a Master in Chancery, and from 1422 to 1439 was also Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery and of the House of Converts.[2] In 1417 a Thomas Frank and two others were ordered to provide two boats of 20 tons each to convey stone for paving the highway at Holborne.[3] Evidence may yet be found satisfactory enough to prove that John Frank, Master in Chancery, was in charge of Staple Inn in the reign of Henry V.

Adam Anderson, in his *Origin of Commerce*, says that in 1375 the staple was removed from Westminster to a place called Staple Inn in Holborn, but he gives no authority for the statement.

In 1463, however, Staple Inn had certainly finally yielded up any right which it may possibly have had to be regarded as a customs-house, for a charter by Edward IV. was issued on the 27th August of that year in the following terms:—

'EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all whom these present letters shall come, greeting, KNOW ye that for certain and notable causes us moving, we have granted to the Mayor and Commonalty and citizens of London that the tronage [*i.e.* royal tax] and weighing and measuring, laying up and placing and housing of whatsoever wools, by whomsoever, from whatsoever parts, brought or to be brought to the city aforesaid or which beforetimes have been accustomed to be brought to the staple at Westminster, shall from henceforth be and be made in the place called Leadenhall within our city aforesaid, and in no other place within three miles of the said city, to have the laying up, placing, and housing aforesaid together with all the fees, profits, and emoluments to the same

[1] *Lay Subsidies*, Richard II., 141. 35.

[2] *Judges of England.* Foss. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II., Henry IV., and Henry V.

[3] Rymer's *Fœdera.* O. Ed. ix. 447.

laying up, placing, and housing or any of them due, used, or accustomed to the aforesaid Mayor, etc.'[1]

Staple Inn was from this time forward, if not earlier, given over to the lawyers. Definite dates have been assigned by several writers, none of whom, however, supply original evidence of their affirmations, as to when it became an Inn of Chancery; 1413 is the date generally stated. But only in mythology did any fully equipped Athena spring from the forehead of any Zeus; the evolution of the Inns of Court and of Chancery and of our modern Areopagus itself was really a matter of development by slow degrees. It is probable that long before 'le stapled halle' came to be known by its particular title, that is long before 1313, it was already the court of some lord, perhaps of the De Ferrars, Earls of Derby, then of the Earls of Lancaster, and finally of the King himself; but whichever of these it may have been, there is hardly a doubt that it was under the control of clerks, who had charge of it for the king's use, whilst at the same time it provided accommodation for those apprentices of the law who were concerned chiefly with the records of the king's wool trade and the disputes which arose in connection with the clearing of woollen merchandise for export.

[1] *Historical Charters of the City*, p. 85, Birch, and *Patent Rolls*, 3 Edward IV. Part ii. m. 17.

CHAPTER XVII

'THE GRAND COMPANY AND FELLOWS' OF STAPLE INN AND THEIR TENANTS

WHETHER Staple Inn is to be regarded as having been an Inn of Chancery before 1413 or not it is more than likely that it was already an inn (in the mediæval sense) before the institution of the Staple. In accordance, therefore, with the common custom of that age, it would have already possessed some sort of corporate union.

The members of Staple Inn styled themselves 'The Grand Company,' and the proprietors of the Inn were called Fellows or Grandfellows. It appears likely also that originally some form of oath was taken on election, as the Company was often described as the 'sworn Company.' The governance of the Inn was intrusted to a Principal, a Pensioner (*i.e.* a Treasurer), and a number of Grandfellows, nominally eleven, but varying in practice from eight to ten. In documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the phrase 'Grandfellows. otherwise called Ancients,' occurs instead of 'Fellows,' and the title of 'Society' is adopted instead of 'Company.' The word *pensioner* is old Anglo-French; just as *customer* in the old records means *customs-officer*, so *pensioner* means *payments-officer*, one who *receives* payments. The following are the names of the Principal, Pensioner, and Fellows of the Grand Company of Staple Inn in 1585 and 1586 respectively:—

1585.	1586.
Robert Maunsell, *Principal.*	Vyncent Engham, *Principal.*
William Deathe, *Pensioner.*	William Deathe, *Pensioner.*
Thomas Allen (or Allyn).	Robert Mansell.
Richard Tooke (or Toke).	Thomas Allyn.

1585.	1586.
Thomas Piers (Pyers or Pearse).	Robert Willett.
Edward Hunt.	Richard Toke.
Richard Shute.	Thomas Pyers.
Richard Champyon.	Edward Hunt.
Thomas Fryer (Frier or Frere).	Thomas Ffryer.
Zacharie Scott.	Richard ——
George Wingate.	George Wingate.

The names of Vincent Engham and Robert Willett appearing in 1586 are important, these men possibly having been created Grandfellows in recognition of their having accepted building leases of the premises then newly erected at their expense.

By the Ordinance of the Staple the Mayor and Constables had been instructed to provide houses on reasonable terms for the accommodation of those who sold their wools, etc., at the staple; and these merchants were at first compelled to stay there for forty days, though the period was afterwards reduced to fifteen days. Thus it was that a large part of Staple Inn had always been let out to strangers, a little more than half of the property being held as freeholds by individual members of the Company.

The occupants of the Inn were of three grades: first, those who were tenants and paid rent to the Grand Company; secondly, those who had been and intended to remain tenants, who had the right to be elected as members; thirdly, those holding freehold chambers which qualified them for election as Fellows; these latter had a share in the proprietary rights over the hall, the land, and the rented chambers.

In an assessment for land-tax, dated 1799, which Mr. T. Cato Worsfold supplies in his interesting work on Staple Inn,[1] it appears that out of £468, 3s. rental per annum, which was then the rateable value of the Inn, as much as £257, 10s. 3d. represented dead rents, the chambers for which were in the hands of private members of the Society who owned their freehold in them,

[1] *Staple Inn and Its Story*, p. 109.

and therefore paid nothing, though of course they were taxed; whilst £210, 12s. 9d. was 'in the House,' that is, was receivable in respect of tenancies let by the House to apparently any respectable person willing to take them. Thus the celebrated Dr. Johnson was a tenant in 1759, but was never a member.

The Company, however, possessed a certain contingent reversion in the freehold chambers. If a tenant of the Inn desired to become a member he might put up his name in the Hall and at a subsequent *Accounts* be elected as a Junior; he would then become entitled to future election as a Fellow; but it would first be necessary for him to acquire a set of the freehold chambers. These he could only obtain by the surrender of some other Fellow or Junior, a surrender which had to be made *in the Hall*. This surrender meant in reality a purchase from the previous freeholder on the part of the new comer who paid full value for the chambers unless he happened to obtain special terms through relationship or friendship. In this way the freehold chambers passed from hand to hand apparently for centuries. Mr. Thorndike, in his evidence before the Royal Commission of 1854, declared that several sets had been so held for two hundred years, without once coming back to the Society. But occasionally, through death and no surrender having been made, the property reverted by the rules of the Company to the House itself, who could then dispose of the chambers to holders-for-life of their own selection, they by successive surrenders keeping the property out of the hands of the Company for another run of generations. Some examples of 'Admissions' and 'Surrenders' are supplied in the Appendix to this volume. It will be noticed, however, that the new freeholders paid a fine to the Society in recognition of its title.

It was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that several attempts were made by the King's Council and Judges to organise the Inns of Court and Chancery into some similitude of a university and various 'Orders in Council' were issued to help forward the realisation of this scheme. But it will be seen in the course of this further history that the Grand Company

INTERIOR OF STAPLE HALL LOOKING FROM THE DAIS

of Staple Inn were not always tractable to the arrangements and orders so benignly laid down for their governance, and that eventually they obtained, once more, full liberty of control over their own property and the management of their own affairs. But this was only after a lengthy period of harmful though well-meaning fostering on the part of the Inn of Court to which it had been attached, and when its extinction as an Inn of Chancery had been fully accomplished.

The Staple of Wools was already decadent in the year 1558, when the town of Calais fell to the attacks of the French and was lost to England; the export of wools fell off in consequence; and little gain was now to be got by the Crown from its old monopoly. So it happened, therefore, that Staple Inn received its greatest development as an Inn of Chancery during the subsequent twenty years. A record exists[1] of the names and number of students in the various Inns of Court and Chancery in the year 1586, from which it will be seen that in point of numbers Staple Inn had won for itself the very honourable position of being the foremost, as well as the 'fayrest,' Inn of Chancery.

No. of Students in the Inns of Court, 1586.

Gray's Inn	during term	356,	during vacation	229
Inner Temple	,,	200,	,,	80
Middle Temple	,,	200,	,,	50
Lincoln's Inn	,,	200,	,,	45

No. of Students in the Inns of Chancery, 1586.

Staple Inn	during term	145,	during vacation	69
Barnard's Inn	,,	112,	,,	24
Clement's Inn	,,	100,	,,	20
Furnival's Inn	,,	80,	,,	30
Lyon's Inn	,,	80,	,,	30
New Inn	,,	80,	,,	20
Thavy's Inn	,,	40,	,,	20

[1] Lansdowne MS., 47, fols. 34, 35.

Staple Inn thus heads the list of the Inns of Chancery and compares very favourably with those of Court. It would be difficult to understand where the one hundred and forty-five students found lodging were we not told by Sir George Buck that the Inn had provided for them 'lodging elsewhere.'

The highest number of students that the Inn ever sent to Gray's Inn in one year was thirteen, which was in the year 1570. But from that year it appears the numbers steadily declined: from the year 1690 to the year 1746 it sent one student only; from 1746 to 1785 it sent twenty-three; after 1785 it ceased sending any.

Nevertheless, even in its heyday, in the year 1586, the Grandfellows numbered in their ranks only one barrister, Robert Maunsell; some were attorneys, but several were in no way connected with the law. This seems to have been the rule throughout its history; it was not the proprietors who were law-students; the latter were mainly tenants, who, if they were not drafted to the Inns of Court nor returned to their homes in the country, settled down at the Inn, to become attorneys and solicitors to various patrons, as tenants of the Company.

But there was another reason for the decline of the Inn as an Inn of Chancery.

CHAPTER XVIII

STAPLE INN AS AN 'APPENDANCY' OF GRAY'S INN

THE project, persisted in through Tudor and early Stuart times, of creating a law university for London and incorporating in one organisation the various Inns of Court and Chancery, was a great and commendable undertaking well worthy of realisation; but unfortunately the methods adopted for that purpose defeated their object. Instead of allowing the Inns of Chancery the utmost liberty which they had previously enjoyed, and inducing them, by concessions and privileges, which might easily have been gracefully conceded, to consent willingly to some sort of cordial co-operation with the higher Inns for common beneficial ends, the Orders in Council which were periodically issued seemed rather designed to create a system of alien and repressive government, both arbitrary and meddlesome.

For the legal societies of the Middle Ages were altogether voluntary; they owed nothing to State endowment, nothing even to State inception; they were similar in original formation to the numerous other societies and companies of mediæval times. The attempt to place them upon a more markedly official basis, ignoring their ancient liberties, without conferring upon them a special increase of honours and privileges, was, therefore, altogether unwise.

The following articles from an Order in Council issued the 15th April 1631 will be sufficient to indicate the character of the interference to which the Inns of Chancery were every now and then subjected. The Order was made 'By the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and all the Judges and Barons of the Exchequer by command of the King's Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council for the government of the Inns of Court and Chancery.'

Article I. says: 'That the Inns of Chancery shall hold their government subordinate to the Benchers of the Inns of Court to which they belong.' This would have been eminently just and fair had they really *belonged* to the Inns of Court, but only in one or two cases, such as Thavy's and Furnival's, which had been bought by Lincoln's Inn, was this a statement of fact; in most cases it was an arbitrary assumption.

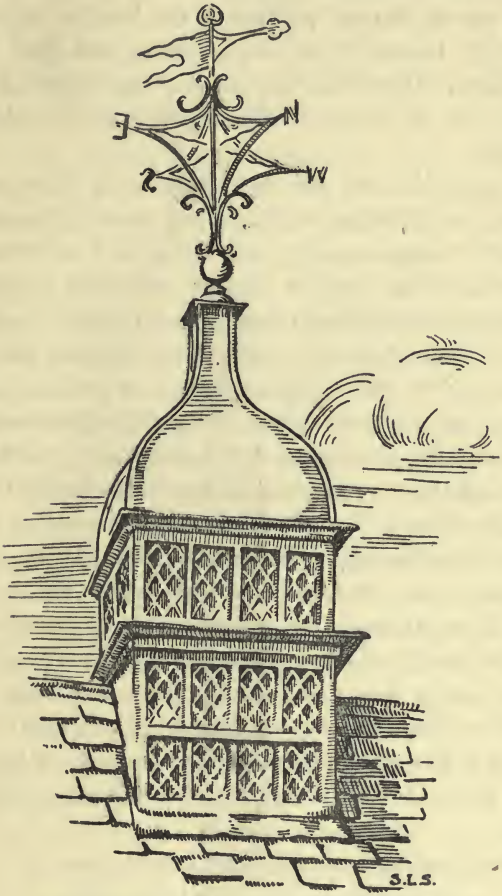
Article II. says: 'That the Benchers of every Inn of Court cause the Inns of Chancery to be surveyed, that there may be a competent number of Chambers for Students; and that once a year an exact survey be taken, that the chambers allotted for the purpose be accordingly imployed.' How thankful some of the Inns of Chancery would have been in later years if the Inns of Court had only provided the students!

Article VI. says: 'For that there ought always to be observed a difference between Utter-Baristers, Readers in Court, and Apprentices at Law, which are the principal persons next unto Serjeants and Judges; and Attorneys and Solicitors, which are but ministerial persons of an inferior nature; therefore it is ordered that from henceforth no common Attorney or Solicitor shall hereafter be admitted of any of the four Houses of Court.' This was a stupid and needlessly offensive provision which had its due effect; not only were Solicitors excluded from the Inns of Court, but Barristers were excluded from those of Chancery; and thus the decline of the Inns of Chancery became inevitable. Had the Benchers of the Inns of Court been granted powers to call to the Bar distinguished members of the Inns of Chancery, the latter might have been in existence to-day. According to Mr. Thorndike, this article was really an extension of a previous Order made in the reign of Philip and Mary.

Article XII. says: 'For that an outward decency in Habit and Apparel is an ornament to all Societies and containeth young Men within the bounds of Civility and Order, it is ordered that no Gentleman of any House of Court or Chancery shall come into the several Halls, Chapels and places of publick Prayer with Hats, Cloaks, Boots, Spurs, Swords or Daggers; or shall wear long Hair;

upon pain to undergo the penalties contained in the Orders of the several Houses, which are strictly to be put in execution.'[1]

These Orders, and others similar, became in most cases dead



THE LOUVRE OR LANTHORN OF STAPLE HALL.

letters. So too the theory, that these Societies were and had been a University of Law, so ingeniously propounded by Sir George Buck in his *Third University of England*, published in 1615,

[1] Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*.

fell through and became discredited. It is only in quite recent times that the four Inns of Court have reached what may be fairly designated the *semblance* of a University.

Illustrating these remarks by the special case of Staple Inn, we may quote the well-known petition of the Readers of Gray's Inn, 'To the Right Honorable and our very singular good Lord, the Lord Burghley, High Treasurer of England,' dated 11th May 1584, just after the death of Mr. Reginald Knight, Principal of Staple Inn:—

'Right honorable and our very good Lord, Whereas by the death of the late Principal of Staple Inn there is presently a new election to be made of another, and having had experience of late time by reason of the want of learning and good government in their Principals the houses of Chancery are grown to some disorder of living and to great decay of study, not regarding the authority of their principal by reason there hath been no such care of election heretofore had as were convenient, being altogether chosen by the voices of the young gentlemen, And having had good knowledge of Mr. Thomas Cary, a gentleman of our House both for his knowledge in Law, being an Utter barrister of good standing and learning, and for his behaviour, sober and discreet, We are bold to be humble suitors unto your good Lordship, and to recommend him for a very fit and able man for that place, humbly entreating your favour in his behalf unto the Society of that house for the better government and increase of learning there hereafter, To make choice of him. Thus ceasing your Lordship's further trouble, we commit you to the tuition of the Highest whom we pray long to preserve. From Gray's Inn, this present Monday, the 11th of May 1584.

'Your Lordship's most humbly to command.

'Jn. Brograve.	Rauf Barton.
Th. Colbye.	John Kytcheyn.
Chr. Yelverton.	Richd. Aunger.
R. Kemp.	William Cardynall.
Willm. Danyell.	Rychard Shuttleworth.
Mychael Lewys.	Peter Ffeasant.'

The spelling of this petition[1] has been modernised in order to make the sense clearer, but the result is not altogether satisfactory. It is interesting, however, to know that Mr. Cary was not appointed. The Grandfellows of Staple Inn elected as their new Principal Mr. Robert Maunsell, the only one of their number, apparently, who was also a member of Gray's Inn. But for some reason or other (perhaps he only held the office for the remainder of Mr. Knight's term) the Fellows of Staple Inn elected a new Principal within eighteen months afterwards, namely, Mr. Vincent Engham, who was not a member of Gray's Inn.

Much the same difficulty arose eleven years later. At a 'Pension' held at Gray's Inn, 25th June 1596, it was recorded: 'The question being long debated at this Pension whether the Bench of Gray's Inn have jurisdiction to displace a Principal of Staple Inn upon just cause, it is agreed that they may lawfully do it, the matter being duly and orderly brought before them.'[2]

Then follows the address presented by the Fellows of Staple Inn: 'We do not find, Right Worshipful, by any of our rules of Staple Inn, nor by any precedent, that the Worshipful Readers of Gray's Inn at any time placed or displaced any of our Principals or officers, but such matters have been always ordered amongst ourselves. But if any dissension hath fallen out among us whereby the sworn Society hath been severed in opinions or, as without danger of some breach of friendship or other disorder, the matter could not safely be ended amongst us, we have repaired unto the Readers of Gray's Inn, in craving their favours and aid in the compounding of such controversies, whose order in such cases we always obeyed and willingly will obey.

'And since upon some complaint brought by the Butler and some other unruly youths of the misbehaviour of our Principal, in which we by no means can perceive, and hope in no sort, your Worships shall find true, it hath pleased some of you to place another in his room, although the misgovernment of our Principal, by our rules, ought first to be censured by us, yet because many

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. xl. 38.
[2] *Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 124.

of our young gentlemen, that desire to live without government, do by this occasion in a manner set and oppose themselves against us, OUR PETITION to your Worships is, that upon examination of this misbehaviour of our Principal, finding (as we guess) no just cause of such sharp proceedings, we may obtain your Worships' countenance and aid in the continuance of our Principal in his place, or if such faults should arise against him as might require so grave a sentence, yet that we, according to our ancient rules, may proceed to a new election amongst ourselves as though the place were void by death or otherwise.[1]

'THOMAS FRERE, *Principal.* ROBERT MAUNSELL.
THOMAS ALEYN. GEORGE WINGATE.
RYCHARD TOKE. THOMAS SARE.'

This petition is undated; the following letter is dated the 22nd June, three days before the debate took place:—

'To the Rt. Honorable Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

'May it please your good Lordship, Whereas the Principal and sworn Company of Staple Inn for the time being, or the greatest part of them time out of mind, according to the ancient rules and customs of the said house, had the government thereof, and also the power of themselves for the nomination and placing, removing and displacing as well of the Principal and his deputy as of the other officers and servants of the said house, and whereas of late upon divers great misdemeanors committed by our Butler contrary to his oath taken upon his admission into the said office, he was by our Principal, with the consent of the most part of the sworn Company, removed, whereupon (as it seemeth upon complaint of your Lordship) he hath untruly informed your honour that he was removed by the only act of the Principal without the consent of the sworn Company, and that by that means he hath obtained your Honour's letters for the displacing of our Principal and restoring the said Butler, which was effected, as we are informed, by two of the Readers of Gray's Inn the last vacation

[1] *Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 124.

against the consent and privity of other the Readers then in town, And upon our now petition unto them this term they seem willing to restore our Principal if their duties unto your Lordship's letter commanding and, as we are informed, approving these former proceedings did not restrain them, OUR HUMBLE PETITION to your Lordship is, there being no contempt or crime to our knowledge wherein to charge our Principal in his government that such a censure should be imposed upon him, that your Lordship would signify by your letters unto the foresaid Readers your pleasure for his restitution, and if your Lordship be informed of any such offense to be committed by our Principal as should require so sharp a censure, That it would please your Lordship to examine it or commit the same to some of the Judges to certify the truth to your Lordship, and upon the clearing of himself to have him restored to us again. Otherwise we humbly beseech your honorable Lordship to favour and patronize us so far as we of ourselves, according to our ancient rules and usages, time out of mind used, may have the nominating and placing, removing and displacing as well of the Principal as of his deputy as also of all other officers and servants of the said House. And we your Lordship's humble petitioners do the rather instant your Lordship in this matter by reason of the great heart and stomach that the unruly youths of our house have by this incident taken against us their governors and the displaced Principal, as without your Honour's aid in defence of us in the execution of our ancient rules and customs, it will grow to the utter ruin and overthrowing of our Society. Thus most humbly beseeching your good Lordship's favour and countenance herein, for which we shall proportionally in all dutiful service be bound to your good Lordship, we humbly pray to God long to preserve your Honour in all true felicity.'[1]

'The endorsement of the said petition: Let the consideration hereof be referred to Mr. Brograve and the rest of the Ancients of Gray's Inn, they to certify me of their opinions hereof—22 June 1596.' This was by Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, and was practically making the accusers the judges.

[1] *Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 125.

Four days after the previous Pension, on the 29th June 1596, another Pension was held at Gray's Inn, at which it was recorded: 'Whereas the Principal of Staple Inn this last vacation was sequestered from his place for contempts committed by him against the Benchers of this Society, and some misdemeanors likewise committed against his own House, the which being duly examined at several Pensions this term, it is thereupon at this term ordered that the sequestration aforesaid for a punishment of the said Principal shall continue until CRO ANIMAR[1]: next, And that Mr. Champion (who hath been required to intend the government of that Society in the mean time) shall continue his place until the time aforesaid. And it is also ordered that the further examination of the causes of complaint concerning the Butler of Staple Inn shall be respited until the next term and then be censured. And if the Principal shall not then be restored, then the House of Staple Inn to proceed to a new election according to the rules and orders of their House. And nevertheless it is ordered that the Principal now sequestered shall proceed with the new buildings in the said House and all other matters concerning the same, the sequestration aforesaid notwithstanding.'[2]

The new buildings referred to were those situated to the east of the Hall looking upon what was called 'the garden court,' the front courtyard being known as 'the Holborn court.' They were replaced by the present building about the year 1757.

Not until the 5th of November following was the Principal restored, when it was ordered 'that Mr. Fryer, the late Principal of Staple Inn, who was this last term by order sequestered from the office of Principal shall be restored to the said office. But the execution of the place is respited to the next pension.'[3]

Controversies of this nature throw a flood of light upon the relations which existed between the two Inns at that period. We shall see presently that also in the matter of granting feoffments of their property to the Readers of Gray's Inn, the Fellows of Staple Inn were, as might have been expected, somewhat intractable.

[1] *i.e.* November 2nd, the morrow of All Souls' Day.
[2] *Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 127. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

CHAPTER XIX

STAPLE INN AS AN 'INHERITANCE' OF GRAY'S INN

Sir William Dugdale in his *Origines Juridiciales*, chapter lxviii., says, 'This (as we have by tradition) was heretofore called Staple Hall, being a place where Merchants for wools had their meetings.' He goes on to say :—

'By an ancient MS. Book (in possession of the Principal and Society of this Inn), written about K. Henry v.'s time, containing divers orders and constitutions relating to this Society, it should seem that this House was an Inn of Chancery then, if not before those days, but held by lease; for the first grant of the inheritance thereof to the Ancients of Gray's Inn from John Knighton and Alice his wife, daughter of John Chapwood, was by Indenture of Bargain and sale, dated 10 Nov., 20 H. 8. After which there were *other feoffments* made thereof; for upon the 4th of June, 20 Jac., Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, then Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, did enfeoff Sir Edward Moseley, Knight, Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Henry Yelverton, and divers others the Ancients of Gray's Inn thereof by the name of all that messuage or Inn of Chancery commonly called Staple Inn, and one garden thereunto adjoining, with all and singular their appurtenances in times past belonging to John Knighton, gentleman, and Alice his wife, situate in the parish of St. Andrew's Holburne in the suburbs of London; which messuage, etc., the said Francis, Lord Verulam, lately had, together with John Brograve, Esq., Attorney to Q. Eliz. of her Duchy of Lancaster, Richard Aunger, William Whyskins and others then deceased, of the grant and feoffment of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight, then Master of the Rolls, Ralph Brereton, Esq., and William Porter, gentleman, as by their

deed dated 18 May, 32 Eliz., more fully appeareth; to have and to hold to the said Sir Edward Moseley and others, their heirs and assigns to the only use and behoof of the same Edward, Henry and their heirs and assigns for ever.'

This short account by Dugdale in 1671 has been repeatedly quoted by later writers, but none have supplied any additional information. The celebrated antiquary refers to a MS. book written about 1413, which seemed to suggest that the Inn may have been an Inn of Chancery at that period or before; to an Indenture dated 1529; and to two other feoffments dated respectively 1590 and 1607. His statement contains one or two slight inaccuracies; nor need we be surprised if, in becoming parties to the Indenture of 1529, the Ancients of Gray's Inn acted rather as governors than as purchasers of Staple Inn.

Alice, the wife of John Knighton, was not the daughter of John Chapwood, but of John Copwode or Copwood of the Exchequer and of Totteridge, Herts, who in 1516 was secondary for the King's Remembrancer, an office formerly held by John Fitzherbert, whose daughter he had married[1] and who was brother to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, a Judge of Common Pleas. It looks as if John Copwode was 'in the running' for the reversion of his father-in-law's position; he may have been a Grandfellow of Staple Inn as well as an officer of the Exchequer, as were several of the Grandfellows of a later date; and if so, the fact would bear somewhat upon the nature of the Indenture. It suggests that he and his son-in-law, Knighton, were trustees rather than owners, acting on behalf of the Company; and it lends support to the late Archibald Day's inference 'that Chapwood was owner either in his own right *or as a surviving trustee.*' In his comments on the subsequent feoffments above mentioned, Mr. Day, displaying the same acumen, says: 'These would seem to be simple transfers from one set of trustees to another, and, no doubt, the Ancients of Gray's Inn were practically trustees of the property for the use of Staple Inn—it may even be that some were members of both Inns—and that when the separation came and

[1] *Wills*, 1503 *P.C.C.* John Fitzherbert, 18 Blamyr.

the subordination of the Inn of Chancery to the Inn of Court ceased, the freehold would have been retransferred.' We shall see that a similar set of feoffments of a later date lend considerable probability to Mr. Day's surmise.

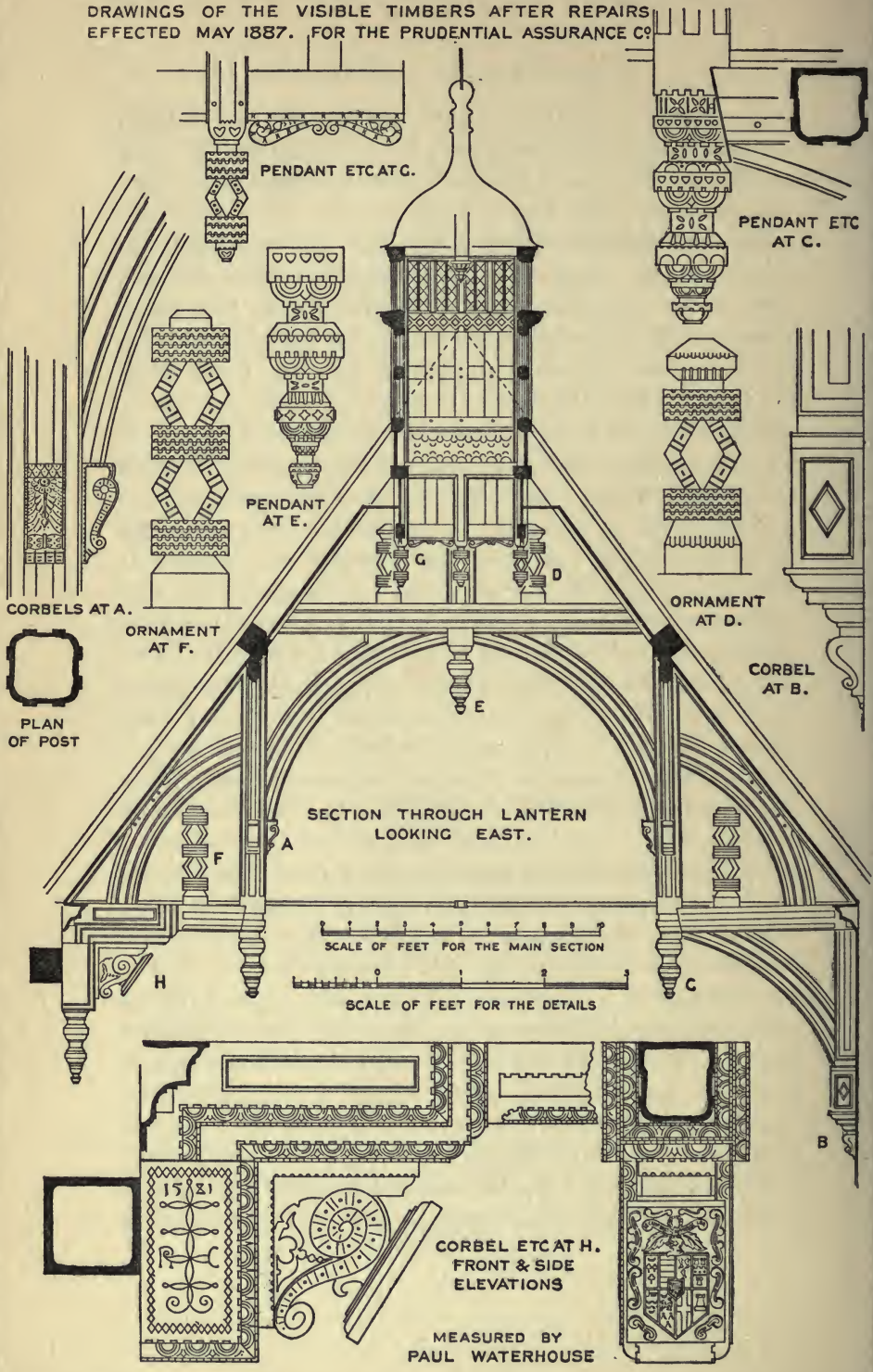
The families of Copwood and Knighton were both legal, and the latter, at all events, was allied by marriage to Wool Staplers. One of John Copwood's daughters married Thomas Chapman, a draper; another married James Hawes, Lord Mayor in 1574; and a grandson, William Copwood, was entered as a student at the Inner Temple in 1572.

John Knighton, son-in-law of John Copwood, was a son of Thomas Knighton of Bayford, Little Berkhampstead, who held his manor of Bayford under the Duchy of Lancaster, and was a Commissioner of the Peace for his county. John Knighton's eldest son, George (afterwards Sir George), was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1556, but his second son, John, was, like himself, a member of the Inner Temple. One grandson named John was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1581, and another, also named John, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1602. His daughter, Dianis, married Edmond Barton, a member of the Clothworkers' Company, who may have been related to Ralph Barton, an Ancient of Gray's Inn, appearing, in Dugdale's account, as Ralph Bereton in the feoffment of 1590. A Ralph Barton was Sheriff of London in 1418.

John Knighton married, secondly, Anne, the daughter of Sir Henry Tyrrell and relict of Edmund Knight of Orpington, Co. Kent. She was buried in the grave of her first husband at Orpington in 1587. But Orpington and St. Mary Cray in Co. Kent and Stanford-le-Hope in Co. Essex, all three once approachable by small craft from the Thames, were all associated with the Staplers' Company, with Staple Inn in Holborn, and with the Staple in Calais. Anne Knighton's sister, Katherine Tyrrell, married George Kebble, and her nephew, John Tyrrell, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Brown, Lord Mayor of London in 1513. Both the Kebbles and the Brownes had extensive dealings with the Staple at Calais, as is shown in chapter xi. So probably had

STAPLE INN. HOLBORN. ROOF OF THE HALL.

DRAWINGS OF THE VISIBLE TIMBERS AFTER REPAIRS EFFECTED MAY 1887. FOR THE PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE Co.



the Tyrrells, for on the 13th October 1491 a sale was effected by Thomas Kelham of Calais to Sir James Tyrrell of 'all his houses, lands, and tenements on both sides of the sea.' The name Kelham occurs as one of the Principals of Staple Inn, Holborn, of a later date.

ARMS OF R. C. 1581.
[Richard Champion]
as displayed on the corbel at H. on Mr. Waterhouse's plan of the Roof of the Hall.[1]

In 1583 Reginald Knight, then Principal of the Inn, Richard Champion, who was probably his predecessor in the same office,

[1] ARMS OF CHAMPION (Stanford le Hope, Essex), *vide* Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. 10. *Quarterly of Eight*: 1. Argent, three trefoils slipped sable (Champion). 2. Barry of six, or and sable (Oyre). 3. Argent, three men's jambes couped at the thighs, gules (Gambo). 4. Or, on a fesse embattled between three towers sable as many plates argent (Rampier). 5. Gules, five crescents, two, two and one and a label or, a canton argent (Dallisonn). 6. Ermine, a lion passant gules (Drew). 7. Gules, a cross engrailed argent. 8. Or, a tower azure, a crescent gules for difference (Sanchett). Over all on an inescutcheon argent a griffin segeant sable (Le Gripeare). *Crest*: An arm embowed in armour argent, garnished or, holding in the gauntlet a champion's laurel wreath vert. *Motto*: Le champ vaut mieux que l'or.

and others granted certain premises to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls, and others, the Ancients of Gray's Inn.

These premises, there is hardly a doubt, were those upon which the 'new-builded Hall' then stood; and inasmuch as the Hall had been built by subscription amongst the Fellows of Staple Inn, it is hardly likely that the grant was a free gift, but rather that the Ancients of Gray's Inn were to hold the property in their capacity of Governors.

Reginald Knight died in 1584, and his will was proved in May of that year. In it he bequeathed 40s. to the poor people of Holborn, 40s. to the poor of Halden, Kent, and £10 towards the building of the new Hall in Staple Inn. He was buried in St. Andrew's, Holborn, and his widow, Joanna, was remarried at the same church on the 19th May 1587 to 'Thomas Grawnte, one of the gentlemen of Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England.'

Richard Champion was nephew and heir of Sir Richard Champion, Draper and Lord Mayor of London in 1565, the same year in which James Hawes, a son-in-law of John Copwood and brother-in-law of John Knighton, held the office of Sheriff. In 1554 Sir Richard Champion had bought the manor of Hasingbroke and the Staplers' Houses at Stanford-le-Hope, and, dying in 1568, he bequeathed them to his nephew, Richard Champion, Draper, of Staple Inn, who granted a lease of them to Robert Willett, a clothworker and member of the same Inn. It has already been stated that in consideration of his having wainscoted the new Hall, Robert Willett had been permitted to rebuild and received a lease in 1584 upon a portion of the Inn.

It becomes evident that what Dugdale called an 'inheritance' was in reality a trust, created, probably in an arbitrary manner, for the purpose of ensuring its continuance as a place for lawyers.

CHAPTER XX

CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE COMPANY OF STAPLE INN

In October 1584 the Readers of Gray's Inn, that is to say, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Knight, Master of the Rolls, Thomas Sackford, Esq., one of the Masters of Requests, Ralfe Barton, Laurence Meeres, and William Porter, Esquires, by their Indenture of Lease, made between the said Readers on the one part, and Robert Willett, of Staple Inn, gentleman, on the other part, at the special instance and request of the Principal and gentlemen of Staple Inn, 'an Inn of Chancery, appendant and belonging to Gray's Inn' (that is to say, Robert Maunsell, Principal of the Inn, Richard Tooke, pensioner, William Deathe, Vincent Enghame, Thomas Piers, Thomas Frier, Edmond Hunt, and others the Grand Company of the same house), for and in consideration that the said Robert Willett had at his own charges substantially wainscoted the new builded Hall of the said House, as also at his like costs had 'translated' the old Hall entry and butlery with the room over the butlery into nine substantial chambers, the said Robert Willett having only allowed to him towards his charges £3, 6s. 8d., Demised, granted and to ferme did let unto the said Robert Willett and his assigns All the said new builded chambers by the said Robert lately builded, together with the old cellars there and plot wherein the new stairs were built, and all lights, ways and easements to them used or occupied, the cellar under the said old butlery and stairs to the same only excepted, which said cellars and stairs were to be made by the Principal, Pensioner, and Grand Company of the said House at the common charge of the said house, To have and to hold the

said premises (except before excepted) with the appurtenances from the feast of 'St. Michaell tharchaungell' last past before the date of the same Indenture unto the full end and term of three-score years from thence next following.

In October 1585 an Indenture of Lease was made by and with the consent of the Principal and gentlemen of Staple Inn between Robert Maunsell, Principal of the same House, William Deathe, Thomas Allen, Richard Took, Thomas Piers, Edward Hunt, Richard Shute, Richard Champion, Thomas Fryer, Zacharie Scott, and George Wingate of the same house of the one part, and Vincent Enghame, gentleman, of the same house of the other part, for and in consideration that the said Vincent Enghame, his executors or assignes, should within two years next ensuing the date of the Indenture erect chambers at the north end of the new buildings of Thomas Frier in Staple Inn aforesaid, upon such lands as late were purchased of Edward Hill of London, woodmonger, to the secret use, behoof, and for the benefit of the Society of Staple Inn by the same Principal and gentlemen, being the first parties to the same Indenture, lying from the said buildings of Thomas Fryer to the common street containing in breadth at the north end 31 ft. and at the south end 30 ft. and in length 40 ft., the same Principal and gentlemen being the first parties to the said Indenture did thereby demise, grant and to ferme let unto the said Vincent Engham, his executors and assigns, all the said ground purchased of Edward Hill as before mentioned with the way and ways to the said ground and all such buildings as thereupon should be builded, To have and to hold the said ground and premises unto the said Vincent Enghame, his executors and assigns, from the feast of St. Mychaell the Archaungell last past before the date of the same Indenture unto the full end and term of three-score years from thence next following.

This building of Vincent Enghame is evidently the western end of the frontage lying beyond the Bars, and it extended probably so as to take in what is now No. 3 in the square. It must have been completed in 1586, for in November of that year the said Vincent Enghame granted and assigned to Robert Willett

337 AND 338 HIGH HOLBORN

Part of Staple Inn, built by Vincent Engham in A.D. 1586.

the said Indenture of Lease and premises, To have and to hold all the said piece or parcel of ground with the appurtenances, as also the Indenture of lease with the estate, right, title, etc., for the residue of the term of three-score years.

Robert Willett from this date, therefore, held two leases: one from the Readers of Gray's Inn, in which the property is not, to us, clearly specified; the other from the Grand Company of Staple Inn, the property referred to in which we can identify; and it is very interesting to note under what circumstances they were obtained. His will was dated 3rd January 1592, and proved on the 1st day of February following, and he left to his brother Thomas Willett 'as well the use as also the profits, rents, and commodities yearly renewing, coming, arising and growing as well of all that and those my lease and leases of all and singular the chambers rooms lodgings vaults and cellars lately builded at my charges in Staple Inn.'

Both Robert Willett and Thomas Willett were members of the Clothworkers' Company, and the latter was also one of the Proctors General of the Court of Arches.

According to Robert Willett's will his leases in Staple Inn were at the death of Thomas Willett to go to Lawrence Willett, son of Thomas, and failing heirs of the body to Lawrence, they were to go then to George, also a son of Thomas, then to 'my cousin Prior, of London, pewterer,' then to Thomas and Francis, also sons of Thomas Willett.

Thomas Willett and Lawrence his son both died before June 1596, and George Willett came into possession. In the month and year just mentioned George Willett granted for specified consideration the aforesaid leases, etc., to Adam Crosby of the same house for a term of twenty-one years 'yf the said George fortune to live so longe.'

In the following month of May 1597 Adam Crosby died, and his sisters, Anne the wife of Arthur Needham, citizen and draper of London, and Margaret the wife of Robert Boron, of the city of Worcester, claimed possession as the lawfully appointed administrators of their brother's 'goods, chattels and creditts.' They

were unable to obtain possession, and therefore Arthur Needham and Robert Boron entered proceedings in 1598 in the Court of Chancery against Thomas Fryer (principal in 1597), Richard Manning (his successor), Richard Champion, George Wingate, Henry Farmer, Edward Willett, and George Willett, they 'being combined and confederate with the most part of the Grand Company and gentlemen of Staple Inn aforesaid,' 'having gotten into theire custodie or possession or into the handes custodie or possession of some one or mo of them or of som other p'son or p'sons by theire or som of theire meanes knowledge or agrement the said two sevrall originall Indentures of demyse through the sinister dealings and combinacion of them or som of them.' The complainants say, in an application to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, that the defendants have, ever since the death of Adam Crosby, unlawfully detained possession of the premises and of the rents thereof, refusing to conform to an Order of the Worshipful the Readers of Gray's Inn, 'although they were eftsones friendly requested thereunto. In tender consideration whereof and for that your said Orators for want of the said Originall Indentures of Demyse are voyd of hope to p'vaile by suite at the commen lawe touching the p'misses and for so much also as the said principall grand company and such others as do unjustly deteyne the possession of the said Roomes and Vawts are a multitude not fitt for your orators to contend withall otherwyse then by humble complaynte to be made to your good Lordshippe touching the p'misses,' etc. 'May it please your good Lordshipp of your accustomed goodnes to graunte unto your said Orators the Quenes Majesties most gracyous wrytte of Sub pena to be directed unto' the persons before mentioned, etc.

We have here only the plaintiffs' version of the dispute, and we are not in a position to judge the rights or facts of the case. No decree of the Court of Chancery giving judgment in the suit can be discovered.

The Company of Staple Inn would naturally object to any part of the Inn being owned by outsiders, and it is not clear how

far their rules and regulations as to reversions may have been affected by the failure of Adam Crosby to make a surrender. He was the Butler who had caused the trouble of 1596 with Gray's Inn. Shortly before his death he had attempted to make his will, but he left it unsigned, and it was so incoherent and incomplete that the Probate Court would not admit its validity, but granted letters of Administration to his nearest relatives.

Three points of interest may be extracted, however, from these records. First, that although Staple Inn was an Inn of Chancery 'appendant and belonging to Gray's Inn,' a doubt may exist as to whether this phrase implies ownership by Gray's Inn, or whether the Readers and Ancients were not grantors of the lease of 1584 by virtue only of their professional supervisory powers as a governing body, the grant in 1583, of Reginald Knight and Richard Champion, upon which this lease is obviously based, being possibly a mere matter of form. The Readers do not figure in the second Indenture of Lease, but they issue an order respecting the property in the suit of Needham and Boron *v.* Frier and others, in 1598, and in this case they certainly exercised their power solely as a governing body.

A second point of interest is that the Grand Company of Staple Inn were not at this period sufficiently opulent to carry out their own rebuilding. Far different was it in the eighteenth century, when Nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, and 10 were rebuilt, for over the present doorways of these houses the legend runs, '*Reædificata sumptibus hujus hospitij.*'

A third point is that the Hall was built by subscription. Reginald Knight bequeathed £10, Robert Willet £5, and Thos. Moyle, who died in 1592, £5 towards the cost of its rebuilding, and no doubt, if search were made, similar bequests could be discovered; and these represented large sums in those days. But the cost of the rest of the rebuilding, including most likely that of Mr. Frier, was effected by private enterprise upon strictly commercial lines.

CHAPTER XXI

THE 'EVIDENCES' OF STAPLE INN FROM THE PENSION BOOK OF GRAY'S INN

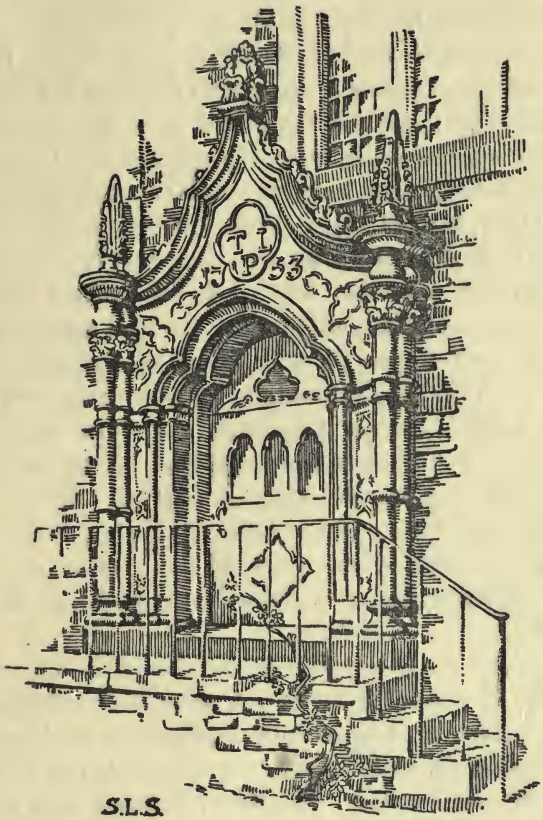
A MEETING at Gray's Inn is called a Pension (*i.e.* a Treasury meeting); at the Temple it is called a Parliament; at Lincoln's Inn a Council; and at Staple Inn it was called an Accounts.

The *Pension Book of Gray's Inn* (1569-1669), edited by the Rev. R. J. Fletcher, to whose work the present writer owes great obligations, contains several entries bearing upon the evidences of Staple Inn. Mention is made, under date 23rd November 1581, of no less than 'vii pieces of evidence concerning Staple Inn'; but these cannot be discovered, and are presumably lost. The *Pension Book*, No. 1, dealing with the years before 1569, is also lost. Both Dugdale and Segar refer to it; the former to page 218, for the first grant of Staple Inn to the Society of Gray's Inn; the latter to folio 215, under date 1555, for the evidence of 'bargain and sale' (Harl. No. 1912). It is obvious that both antiquaries are dealing with the same entry, though the number of the folio differs; but it is interesting to observe that the record of the bargain and sale of 1529 is not made in the *Pension Book* until 1555 (*Pension Book*, p. 499).

At a Pension held 20th June 1582, present, Brograve, Barton, Colbie, Anger, Cardinall, Kempe, Stanhope, and Sherington, an entry in the *Pension Book* (p. 54) is made to the effect that 'Respite is given to the Principal and Fellows of Staple Inn until Wednesday next following, to bring here sufficient instructions for making a feoffment to the Readers of Gray's Inn of the lands newly purchased for them, and where they have built their Hall and other chambers.' We are not told whether they complied with the command of Gray's Inn; but the required feoffment was

not made till the following year, viz. 18th June 1583. Probably Staple Inn withheld the instructions as long as they dared. The following is a translation of the deed :—

'Know present and future that we, Reginald Knight, gentleman, principal of the hospice of Staple Inn in Holburn within the suburbs of London, William Deathe, Richard Toke, Thomas Allyn, Richard Champion, Robert Willett, and Thomas Perse, gentlemen, *for divers good and reasonable causes specially moving us at present*, have conveyed, do deliver, have granted, and by this our present indented charter, have confirmed to Gilbert Gerrard, knight, Master of the Rolls of the Court of Chancery of our Lady the Queen, Thomas Sekeford, esquire, Master of the Court of Requests of the said Lady Queen and Surveyor of the Court of Wards of the same Lady Queen, John Brograve, Attorney-general of the said Queen in the Court of her Duchy of Lancaster, Ralph Barton, John Kitchen, Thomas Kolbye, Richard Anger, William Whiskins, Chr. Yelverton, William Cardinall, Richard Kemp, Humphrey Purefey, William Daniel, Edward Stanhope, Michael Lewis, Gilbert Sherrington, Peter Fesant and Laurence Blundstone, esquires, one tenement, two buildings, and the fifth part of one garden annexed to the same tenement, with their appurtenances, together lying and being in the parish of S. Andrew in Holborn, within the suburbs of London [abutting] on the house or hospice of Staple Inn towards the East; on the garden there, commonly called Staple Inn Garden, towards the South; on our lands lately purchased of Edmund Hill, citizen and woodmonger of London, towards the West; and on the royal street there called High Holborn towards the North; Which messuage and other premises with their appurtenances we have lately had to us and our heirs by grant of a certain John Skydmore, citizen and ironmonger of London. And also two pieces or parcels of land near Staple Inn aforesaid, whereof one contains in length ninety-two feet of royal assize, and in width from each end thereof thirty feet of the same assize; The other piece thereof contains in length from the walls of the same garden due North thirty-six feet of the said assize, whereof thirty feet thereof contain in width one foot



ENTRANCE TO THE HALL FROM STAPLE INN GARDEN.

and nine inches of the said assize, and the remaining six feet thereof contain in width four inches of the same assize, together lying and being in the said parish of S. Andrew [abutting] on the said messuage and the lands lately purchased of the said John Skidmore towards the East; on the said garden, commonly called Staple Inn Garden, towards the South; and on the garden or land of the same garden there towards the West and North; To have and to hold the said messuage and other premises aforesaid, with their appurtenances, unto the aforesaid Gilbert Gerrard, Thomas Sekeford, John Brograve, Ralph Barton, John Kitchin, Thomas Colby, Richard Anger, William Whiskins, Chr. Yelverton, William Cardinall, Richard Kempe, Humphrey Purefey, William Daniel, Edward Stanhope, Michael Lewis, Gilbert Sherington, Peter Feasant, and Laurence Blundestone, their heirs and assigns to the sole and proper use and behoof of themselves, Gilbert Gerrard, etc., their heirs and assigns, for ever, of the chief lords of that fee for the services therefrom before due and by right accustomed. In witness whereof, we have set our seal to each part of this our present indented charter. Given on the eighteenth day of June in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of our Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.' (*Gray's Inn Pension Book*, p. 58).

In this feoffment there are several points deserving attention. The Grand Company of Staple Inn were the purchasers of the premises, but conveyed them to the feoffees 'for divers good and reasonable causes specially moving us at present,' not for specified or valuable consideration. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, who heads the list of feoffees was vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Collector of the Rents of the Duchy in County Middlesex. The feoffees were 'to have and to hold' the property 'of the chief lords of that fee for the services therefrom before due and by right accustomed'; that is, no rents or fees were payable, only the old accustomed services hitherto due, which may have been purely nominal, such as a pair of white gloves each Easter, or a red rose, or some other trivial recognition of title.

Remembering the ancient character of Staple Inn, how it gave service to former kings in the matter of the Wool Staple; remembering, too, that the Weigh-house at S. Stephen's, Staple Inn at Calais, and Leadenhall in the city, were all at one time the property of the king, we can hardly imagine the 'chief lords of that fee' being any other than the Dukes of Lancaster, who had obtained the inheritance through John of Gaunt from Edward II., the originator of the Staple.

It can not, with our present limited knowledge, be positively asserted that the property was still held of the Duchy in Queen Elizabeth's time. We have seen (Chap. VI.) that the land immediately to the east of Staple Inn in Henry VIII.'s reign was held directly from the king. And it may be pointed out, as a fact of some weight, that the first stained-glass window placed in the new Hall of Staple Inn was that of the armorial bearings of the then reigning Sovereign; that in the reign of James I., when the crowns of England and Scotland had become united, the new arms, and also those of the then Prince of Wales were added; and that when Charles II. came to the throne, he too received recognition by having his portrait hung upon the walls.

Panel from a Window in the Hall displaying a Tudor rose and a merchant's mark. The middle portion of the panel is fragmentary and imported from some other window. [See Appendix C. 3rd window south.] A crest of the Brownlow family has been placed in an obverse position.

STAPLE INN GARDEN SHOWING SOUTH VIEW OF THE HALL.

The next important 'evidence' relating to Staple Inn in the *Gray's Inn Pension Book* is a Latin document registered at a Pension held on the 31st May 1623 (p. 246). It was probably from this record that Dugdale obtained the information contained in his great work. The following is a translation:—

'To all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing may come, Francis Bacon, knight, Baron Verulam, Viscount S. Albans [gives] eternal greeting in the Lord. Know that I, the aforesaid Francis, for divers causes and considerations specially moving me, have granted, enfeoffed, delivered, and by this my present charter confirmed to Edward Moseley, knight, Attorney of the Lord King in his Duchy of Lancaster, to Henry Yelverton, knight, Thomas Tildesley, knight, Thomas Ireland, knight, Thomas Hughes, knight, William Fishe, knight, Fr. Brackin, Elias Brantingham, Lanc. Lovelace, Henry Fleetwood, Philip Gerrard, Thomas Crewe, Richard Amherst, Humphrey Davenporte, James Mayne, Thomas Southworth, William Holt, Roger Downes, Henry Binge, Walter Darrell, Nicholas Lowe, Robert Blundell, John Finch, Richard Higgons, Thomas Jones, John Hardinge, Ralph Cowper, Thomas Locke, and Robert Callis of Grayes Inn in the County of Middlesex, esquires, All that my messuage or hospice of Chancery, commonly called Staple Inn, and one garden adjacent to the same messuage, with all and singular their appurtenances, sometime of John Knighton, gentleman, and Alice his wife, situated, lying, and being in the parish of S. Andrew in Holborne in the suburbs of London, whereof The aforesaid messuage is situated and lies by the royal street towards the North; and by a tenement and garden late of the Abbot and Convent of Malmesbury on the East side; and by a tenement and garden late of the Wardens of the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Stephen sometime founded in the parish church of S. Sepulchre in the suburbs of London beside Newgate on the West side. And the aforesaid garden lies by the garden of the Earl of Southampton, sometime of the Bishop of Lincoln on the west side, and by the garden sometime of the aforesaid Abbot and Convent of Malmesbury on the East side; Which messuage and

garden I lately had together with John Brograve, esquire, Attorney of the late Lady Queen Elizabeth of her Duchy of Lancaster, Richard Aunger, William Whiskins, William Cardinall, Richard Kempe, William Daniel, Edward Stanhope, John Penruddock, John Spurling, John Hales, Thomas Broxham, Edmund Poley, Nicholas Fuller, John Pelham, Anthony Selenger, John Lancaster, and Thomas Wade of Grayes Inne aforesaid, esquires, now deceased, by gift and feoffment of Gilbert Gerard, knight, then Master or Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery of the said Lady Queen of England, Ralph Barton, esquire, and William Porter, gentleman, as more fully is clear and appears by their writing bearing date the eighteenth day of May in the thirty-second year of the reign of the said late Queen of England, To have and to hold the aforesaid messuage and garden with the appurtenances unto the aforesaid Edward Moseley, etc., their heirs and assigns, to the sole use and behoof of themselves, Edward Moseley, etc., their heirs and assigns, for ever, of the chief lords of that fee by the services thence due and of right accustomed. And I indeed, the aforesaid Francis Bacon, and my heirs, will warrant and for ever by these presents defend the aforesaid messuage and garden with the appurtenances unto the aforesaid Edward Moseley, etc., their heirs and assigns, to the use and behoof abovesaid against me and my heirs. Know also that I, the aforesaid Francis Bacon, knight, Baron Verulam, Viscount S. Albans, have made, constituted, and put in my stead my beloved in Christ, Thomas Page and Thomas Cason, gentlemen, my true and legitimate attorneys, jointly and severally to enter for me and in my name into the aforesaid messuage and garden and to take possession and seisin thereof, and after such possession and seisin thereof taken and had, then for me and in my name to deliver full and peaceful possession and seisin of the aforesaid messuage and garden with the appurtenances to the aforesaid Edward Moseley, etc., or to their certain attorney, according to the form and effect of this charter; holding and being ready to hold in future as valid and acceptable all and whatsoever my said attorneys or either of them shall do or cause to be done for me or in my name in the

premises. In witness whereof I, the said Francis Bacon, knight, Baron Verulam, Viscount S. Albans, have set my seal. Given the fourth day of June in the twentieth year of the reign of our Lord James by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., and of Scotland the fifty-fifth.

FR. S. ALBANS.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.
ROBERT HALPENGE.
JOHN KNIGHTBRIDGE.'

'[See Catalogue of the evidences of Staple Inn in the old book, folio 215.]

'Memorandum, that estate, seisin, and full and peaceful possession of and in the messuage or hospice of Chancery called Staple Inn and the garden within written with all and singular the appurtenances were taken by Thomas Page and Thomas Cason, attorneys of the within named Francis Lord Verulam and Baron S. Albans in their proper persons in the name of the same Francis Lord Verulam to the within named Thomas Tyldesley, knight, Thomas Ireland, knight, and Roger Downes, Esquire, in their proper persons to the use of them and of the other feoffees within named according to the tenor and effect of this present charter in the presence of us on the fifth day of June in the twentieth year within written.

'HENRY EWEN.	JO. ELLYS.
RICHARD FRANKLYN.	RICHARD ALLISON
FRANCIS RUDD.	JOHN BELL.
JOHN KITTSON.	WILLIAM KNIGHT.
ROBERT MORRICE.	FRANCIS HILLIER.
JO. WATTSON.	THO. PAGE, } *Attorneys.*'
THOMAS HOULKER.	THO. CASON, }

The feoffment by Sir Francis Bacon is the last feoffment of Staple Inn to the Readers of Gray's Inn of which we have any record.

CHAPTER XXII

HOW THE SOCIETY OF STAPLE INN ACQUIRED ITS OWN AGAIN

If continuous feoffments of Staple Inn were made by each generation of Readers of Gray's Inn to their successors after the year 1623 they have not yet come to light. From the year 1690 to 1811, which is the date of the next legal document which comes under notice, there were only twenty-three students passing from Staple Inn to Gray's, an average of one in five years.

All that we know of the history of the property during these years indicates that the Society of Staple Inn regarded it as their own. When portions required rebuilding, they carried out the work at their own costs, and there is no evidence that they recognised in doing so the governing powers of Gray's Inn, either as owners in trust or as a supervisory body, in any way whatsoever. Thus No. 9 was rebuilt in 1729 and Nos. 7 and 8 in 1734, and the fact still announces itself over the present doorways with the names of the Principals, that the rebuilding was at the expense of Staple Inn. The 'appendancy' of the Inn of Chancery to that of Court had apparently been allowed quietly to lapse.

On Saturday, the 27th November 1756, a fire broke out, so says the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the period, at No. 1, 'which entirely consumed the premises of Mr. Ward, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Sackville. It was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Sackville, Mr. Ward, and Mrs. Ward and several others saved their lives; but Mrs. Ward's sister (a young lady who came out of the country upon a visit the night before), two of Mr. Ward's children, and their nurse perished in the flames.'

The legend over the doorway of the building which succeeded the destroyed premises may still be seen:—

Surrexit e Flammis
Anno Dom: 1757
Thoma Leach: Principali

It has been stated that at this fire all the muniments of the Society were lost; but there is no evidence that the Principal of the Inn lived at this house at the time of the conflagration, nor that the records of the Society were there stored. Mr. Ward did not become Principal until the year 1763. Moreover, the 'evidences' of Staple Inn had been handed over to Gray's Inn at an earlier date. It is noticeable that the Inn was not occupied exclusively by students at this date, for women and children are mentioned. During the next five years only two students passed from Staple Inn to Gray's.

No. 2 was rebuilt in 1759, and No. 10, the house immortalised by Dickens in his *Mystery of Edwin Drood*, in 1747. The initials over the doorway of the latter do not mean 'Perhaps John Thomas,' they stand for 'Principal, John Thompson.' The site of Nos. 11 and 12 is now occupied by the Patent Office extension.

But even if the Company of Staple Inn were allowed, so to speak, by the Society of Gray's Inn, liberty of rebuilding and of letting chambers during the eighteenth century without further feoffment, it was still a generally accepted proposition that Staple Inn was an 'Inn of Chancery *beloniging* to Gray's Inn.'

Thus, Malcolm, writing in 1803, in his *Londinium Redivivum*, says: 'This residence is supposed to have been an Inn of Chancery in 1415; and probably was long before that time; but the earlier part of its history is involved in obscurity. It was granted to the Ancients or Society of Gray's Inn, 20 *Henry VIII.*, by John Knighton and Alice, his wife, in indentures of bargain and sale; *and they have remained in possession till the present moment.*'

That is to say, in 1803, Staple Inn was still thought to 'belong' to Gray's Inn. In 1811, however, it certainly did not, in any sense whatsoever.

On the 18th of December in that year of 1811, 'the Principal and Grandfellows, otherwise called the Ancients, of the House and Society of Staple Inn' made by their Indenture of that date a feoffment of the property in trust to two newly-elected Fellows of their own body together with a Covenant to levy a Fine, of which the following is an abstract:—

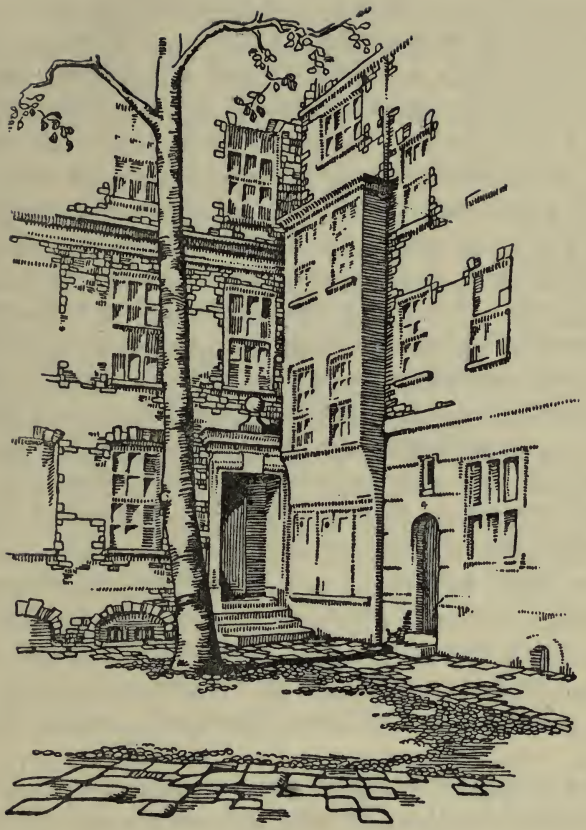
'*Abstract of an Indenture made* 18*th December*, 52*nd George III.* (1811) *between*

William Townsend, of Staple Inn, *Principal*,
William Kirkby, of the Exchequer Office, Temple,
Hutton Wood, of the Exchequer Office, Temple,
John Stanley Smart, of Staple Inn,
Christopher Johnson, of Queen's Sq., Bloomsbury,
James Sayers, of Great Ormond Street.
John Pownall, of Staple Inn,
John Windus, of the Exchequer Office, Temple,
Edward Rowland Pickering, of Staple Inn,
} Esquires, the Principal and Grandfellows, otherwise called Ancients, of the House and Society of Staple Inn, *of the first part;*

Thomas Wilson, of Staple Inn,
Joseph Bicknell, of Staple Inn,
} Esquires, duly elected Grandfellows or Ancients of the said House, *of the second part;*

Stephen Moore, of Sloane Street,
George Smith, of Staple Inn,
} Attorneys, of the said House, *of the third part.*

'Whereas the said Wm. Townsend, etc., are jointly seised of the Tenements hereinafter mentioned, This Indenture witnesseth that in order to settle and vest the fee simple and inheritance thereof in the said Wm. Townsend, etc., their heirs and assigns, and in consideration of ten shillings apiece to the said Wm. Townsend, etc., in hand, paid by the said Thos. Wilson and Joseph Bick-



S.L.S.

NO. 3 STAPLE INN, RE-BUILT IN A.D. 1759.

nell, and for other good and valuable consideration, the said Wm. Townsend, etc., have granted, enfeoffed, and confirmed to the said Thos. Wilson and Joseph Bicknell, their heirs and assigns, all that messuage or House of Chancery, commonly called Staple Inn. To have and to hold the said messuage or House of Chancery unto the said Thomas Wilson and Joseph Bicknell, and their heirs for ever, to the sole and absolute use of both the first and second parties for ever. AND for the better assurance of the premises, the said first parties to this Indenture, and their heirs, do hereby covenant with the said second parties, their heirs and assigns, that they will in Hilary Term next ensuing, in due form of law, levy before his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, one or more fine or fines, SUR CONUZANCE DE DROIT COME CEO, etc., with proclamation according to the form and effect of the statute in that case provided for the assurance of lands. And it is hereby agreed that the said fine shall be adjudged to be to the sole and absolute use of the first and second parties, their heirs and assigns for ever, and to no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever. And the said first parties do hereby constitute and appoint Stephen Moore and George Smith their true and lawful Attorneys into the premises hereby enfeoffed to enter and full and peaceable possession thereof, to take and afterwards give and deliver unto the said second parties or their Attornies. To hold unto the said second parties, their heirs and assigns for ever, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents.—In witness whereof, etc.'

This was executed in duplicate, and an endorsement was made that on the 21st of March 1812 full delivery was made to Thomas Wilson and Joseph Bicknell, in their persons and by them accepted accordingly. A fine was levied in Hilary term of the same year, and one of the judges present was Sir Alan Chambré, a former junior of Staple Inn, and afterwards a member of Gray's Inn. There can be hardly a doubt that he was fully cognisant of all the circumstances which necessitated the action of the Society of Staple Inn, and that he fully concurred in all that had been done, as must have also his three distinguished colleagues. The following

is a full copy of the 'Feet of Fines' still in existence at the Record Office:—

'This is the final agreement, made in the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King, at Westminster in eight days of S. Hilary, in the 52nd year of the reign of George the Third by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, before James Mansfield, John Heath, Goulden Lawrence, and Alan Chambré, Justices of our Lord the King, and others then and there present, between Thomas Wilson and Joseph Bicknell, gentlemen, plaintiffs, and William Townsend, William Kirkby, Hutton Wood, John Stanley Smart, Christopher Johnson, James Sayers, John Pownall, John Windus, and Edward Rowland Pickering, gentlemen, deforciants, of twenty messuages, eight shops, two gardens, and two acres of land, with the appurtenances, being the House of Chancery, called Staple Inn.

'Whereupon a plea of covenant was summoned between them in the same court, that is to say, that the aforesaid *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher, James, John, John, and Rowland Edward* have acknowledged the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, to be the right of him, the said Thomas, as those which the said Thomas hath of the gift of the aforesaid, *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher, James, John, John, and Edward Rowland*, and those they have remised and quit-claimed from them the said *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher, James, John, John, and Edward Rowland*, and their heirs, to the aforesaid Thomas, and the heirs of the said Thomas for ever. And, moreover, the said *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher, James, John, John, and Edward Rowland* have granted for them and the heirs of the said William Townsend that they will warrant to the aforesaid Thomas and Joseph, and the heirs of the said Thomas, the aforesaid tenements, with the appurtenances, against them the said *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher, James, John, John, and Edward Rowland*, and their heirs for ever. And for this acknowledgment, remise, quitclaim, warrant, Fine, and agreement, the said Thomas and Joseph have given to the aforesaid *William, William, Hutton, John Stanley, Christopher,*

James, John, John, and Edward Rowland, two thousand nine hundred pounds sterling.'

Multiplying the half of £2900, the price paid by the two new comers for shares in the property, by eleven, the full number of grandfellows after the admission of the new joint proprietors, we obtain £15,950 as the value of the inn in the year 1811, or roughly £16,000.

Neither Thomas Wilson nor Joseph Bicknell was a stranger to the Society; they had been juniors about twenty years, and were probably, at least, forty years of age. The Principal, William Townsend, must have been about seventy, and most of the grandfellows would have been nearer sixty than forty judging by the dates of their admission as juniors. It was, however, neither of the two new Fellows, but it was Edward Rowland Pickering, who lived the longest, and who in 1851, his colleagues being deceased, enfeoffed a new set of grandfellows to carry on the traditions of the Society.

William Townsend, in the year 1811, had already been Principal for twenty-four years, and he remained in office until his death on the 17th July 1814, having held the position for nine terms. He must have been very highly respected if not beloved. His will, proved soon after his death, breathes a spirit of kindly friendship to every one around him; he makes bequests to the poor of Holborn and to all his retainers both at Staple Inn and at his country house near Hitchin; he begs all the grandfellows of the Society to accept mementoes from him; leaves them the wines in his cellar at Staple Inn; and, in consideration of certain surrenders to the Society instead of to his nephew and heir, George Townsend, he requests them to allow his sister, who had always kept house for him at Staple Inn, to continue to reside in the same house at a moderate rental. It is impossible to believe that they could have done otherwise.

On the 10th July 1812 the Principal and Grandfellows of Staple Inn followed up their indenture of feoffment, and the fine levied pursuant thereto, by executing a Deed Poll to the following effect :—

'We, whose Names and seals are hereunto subscribed and affixed being the Principal and Grandfellows or Antients of Staple Inn, Do hereby declare that the messuage or House of Chancery, commonly called Staple Inn, and other the hereditaments which, by an Indenture of ffeoffment with Livery of Seizin, dated the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, and by a ffine levied or intended to be levied pursuant to the said Indenture have been or are intended to be conveyed To the use of us our Heirs and Assigns for ever, were or are intended to be so conveyed In trust and to the intent that the same may be held by us our Heirs and Assigns for the sole benefit and behoof of the House and Society of Staple Inn aforesaid for ever, and that we, our Heirs and Assigns, are now and shall stand seized thereof In trust accordingly. As witness our hands and seals this tenth day of July in the fifty-second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.'

Then follow their signatures. And thus the company or society of Staple Inn became once more fully possessed of its own property, without let or hindrance by Privy Council, chief lords of the fee, or Inns of Court feoffees in trust.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PASSING OF THE SOCIETY OF STAPLE INN

THE final chapter in the history, not indeed of the Inn itself, but of the Company or Society is soon told.

Following the date of the feoffment mentioned in the last chapter, events of very even tenor, for nearly two generations, smoothly kept an equal pace with the slow passing of time. Eleven successive principals occupied the post of honour and retired; nothing occurred to disturb the peaceful, if busy, seclusion which had again become the Inn's distinctive mark. The City's other ancient buildings, one by one, were being swept away, till nearly all that the great Fire had left undemolished was submerged; and still the ebb and flow of tumultuous traffic and continuous change surged harmlessly past this little haven of apparent calm. Old sites were built upon and rebuilt upon, again and again; beneath the invading flood of 'improvements' this neighbourhood witnessed no less than three Furnival's Inns succumb ere the Prudential reared its massive pinnacled tower; yet still, through some feeling of reverence on the part of the public, for an obscure, mysterious past, dimly understood, but, it is to be hoped by this book made clearer, or perhaps through some real though indefinable interest in the domestic architecture of other days, this quaint relic of a bygone age was preserved with all its unique characteristics unimpaired; except in one part only; there it did at last shed one ligament; and under the following circumstances part of the old south side of the garden court disappeared.

In 1842 the Taxing Masters in Chancery, anxious to secure new

premises, applied to the Society of Staple Inn for a suite of offices within their retired precincts and, finally, entered into an agreement with the Principal and Grandfellows of that Society that the latter should rebuild for their use two of the houses on the south side of the Garden Court of the Inn. This work was to be completed by the 20th September 1843, the Principal and Grandfellows granting on their part to the Taxing Masters in Chancery a lease of the premises for twenty-one years, the latter becoming subject to all the rules and regulations of the Society for the government of the Inn as other tenants of the said Society.

Before the building could be completed, however, the Society had to borrow £8500 from the trustees of the Alliance British and Foreign Life and Fire Assurance Company, the repayment of which was secured by 'a mortgage of the fee simple and inheritance' of the several hereditaments comprised within the messuage of the inn. The Indenture of mortgage was dated the 1st March 1843 and was made between

William Kirkby, of Guildford Street,
John Pownall, of Brighton,
John Windus, of Tonbridge Place, New Road,
Edward Rowland Pickering, of Lincoln's Inn,
Joseph Bicknell, of Staple Inn.

Esquires, surviving Trustees on behalf of the House and Society of Staple Inn, *of the 1st part;*

Hugh Wood, of the Registrar's Office, Chancery Lane,
William Kirkby, aforesaid,
Edward Rowland Pickering, aforesaid,
Joseph Bicknell, aforesaid,
Cobbett Derby, of the Inner Temple,
George Chilton, of Sydenham,
William Pownall, of Staple Inn,
Edward Chester, of Staple Inn,
Richard Baynes Armstrong, of Staple Inn.

Principal and Grandfellows, otherwise called Ancients of the House and Society of Staple Inn, *of the 2nd part;*

John Irving, of Tokenhouse Yard,
Samuel Gurney, of Lombard Street,
Sir Moses Montefiore, of Park Lane, Knt.,
James Alexander, of King's Arms Yard,
Lionel Nathaniel Rothschild, of New Court.
} Trustees of the Alliance British and Foreign Life and Fire Assurance Company, *of the 3rd part.*

The last instalment on this mortgage was not repaid until 25th September 1884 four days before the Society agreed to sell the Inn to Messrs. Trollope of Westminster.

Before coming to that event it must be noticed that on the 13th May 1851 Edward Rowland Pickering, the last surviving trustee in the feoffment of 1811, made a fresh Indenture of Feoffment, 'his colleagues being deceased,' to a new set of Trustees, comprising the then Principal and other Grandfellows of the Society, the whole body of Principal and Grandfellows executing, on the same day, a Deed Poll, in similar terms to the earlier document, declaring that 'the House of Chancery, commonly called Staple Inn,' was intended by the said Indenture 'to be conveyed To the use of us and our heirs and assigns for ever.'

In this Indenture the phrase occurs 'To the uses following As for and concerning a certain garrett Chamber up three pairs of Stairs on the east side of Holborn Court in the said Inn To the use of the said Edward Rowland Pickering for his life And as to all the other hereditaments and as to the said garrett chamber after the decease of the said Edward Rowland Pickering To the use of the said George Mounsey Gray, Edward Rowland Pickering, Cobbett Derby, William Pownall, Hugh Wood, Edward Chester, Richard Baynes Armstrong, James Cross, and Andrew Snape Thorndike, their heirs and assigns for ever.'

Another similar enfeoffment and Deed Poll were made on the 31st May 1875 and another on the 14th April 1884, which were the last. On the 29th of September in the latter year the

Society agreed to part with their property to the firm of builders before mentioned.

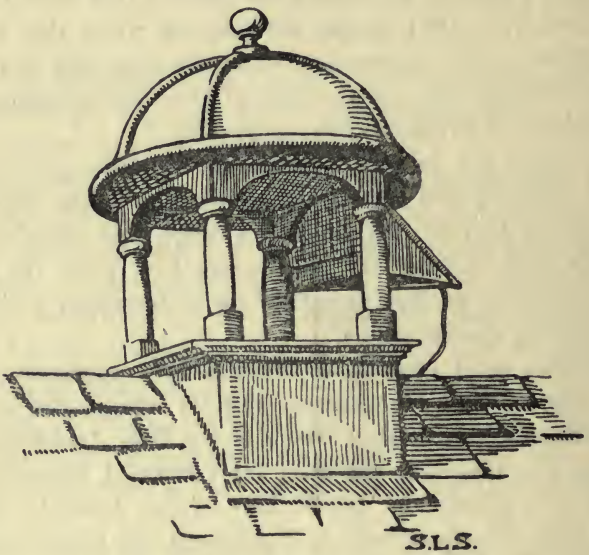
The previous year, in 1883, the Commissioners of her late Majesty's Works and Public Buildings had agreed to lease the south side of the Garden Court, previously occupied by the Masters in Chancery, for twenty-one years. They now, that is, on the 24th June 1886, bought the property, which thus became the property of the Government. The following 26th November Messrs. Trollope put up the rest of the Inn to auction, the present proprietors becoming the purchasers.

But though the Society of Staple Inn has thus passed away, the old buildings still remain, and are likely to remain some time longer; the lawyers still congregate there, and probably will continue to do so; for the new owners have given the public ample indication of their intention not to terminate, ruthlessly, an interesting historic past.

Moreover, other educational faculties have appeared on the scene; the Institute of Actuaries, who are incorporated under a Royal Charter, have taken a tenure of the Hall; 'mootings' and readings not upon law, but upon the science of Insurance, are carried on regularly by the Fellows of the Institute, though indeed they sometimes have to argue upon the legal aspects of their science; and, continuously, classes for students and examinations for Associateship and Fellowship are held in a far more serious fashion than the lively law students of Tudor days could have practised in their profession.

As a royal customs-house and marketplace this Inn in Saxon and Norman times had its most likely origin; in the latter half of Plantagenet times, when the tax upon the export of wool was the king's monopoly, it received its special name; then in the Tudor age it became more especially an Inn of Chancery, but only through the Orders of the Privy Council arbitrarily defining and controlling its proper purposes and duties; from its Tudor heyday as an Inn for law students it gradually declined till, in the eighteenth century, it became practically a club, the original

purposes for which it had existed having become entirely obsolete. It now remains only as an interesting specimen of Elizabethan domestic architecture; yet it is impossible not to hope that the final decay and extinction, which is the lot of all things, may yet be many years in overtaking it.



THE BELFRY.

APPENDIX A

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

MR. WATERHOUSE AND STAPLE INN

Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, one of the most genial and most talented members of his profession, who has left the impress of his genius upon the architecture of the age, died on the 22nd August 1905. In a lengthy and appreciative obituary notice the *Times* newspaper made the following observations:—

'It was under Mr. Waterhouse's direction, also, that the careful and very conservative restoration of the old half-timber houses of Staple Inn was carried out. His representations and advice, coming to the aid of public opinion, which was so strongly expressed in our columns at the time, brought it about that these interesting examples of old London street architecture were not pulled down by the owners who had recently acquired them. He thought that, without their appearance being materially interfered with, they could be strengthened so as to last for some time to come, and his reparations to the street front were confined to renewing those of the timbers—no very large proportion—which were entirely decayed. The restoration may thus be said to have been carried out without materially affecting the picturesque appearance or the historic value of the old street front—a result for which all who are interested in old London should be grateful to him.'

These remarks elicited a letter from the owners of the property as follows:—

To the Editor of the 'Times.'

Sir,—The passage in your obituary notice of the late Mr. Waterhouse referring to the careful and very conservative restoration of the old half-timber houses of Staple Inn carried out under his direction is calculated to create the impression that the owners of Staple Inn

had at some time intended to pull it down and were only restrained from doing so by the pressure of public and professional opinion.

I am instructed by the directors of the Prudential Assurance Company, the owners of the inn, to state that they purchased the property with the express intention of preserving it, and that they have never contemplated its demolition.

They share, none the less, in the gratitude which, as you truly say, is due to Mr. Waterhouse for his skilful and sympathetic aid in the preservation of one of the most interesting memorials of Old London still remaining to us.—Yours obediently,

D. W. Stable, *Secretary.*

Prudential Assurance Company, Limited,
Holborn Bars, London, E.C., *August* 24.

APPENDIX B

List of the Principals of Staple Inn, so far as is known, from the year 1580; *those marked thus,* * (*five only*), *were members of Gray's Inn.*

Richard Champion, . . 1580
Reginald Knight, . . 1583
*Robert Maunsell, . . 1584
Vincent Engham, . . 1585
Robert Willett, . . 1589
Thomas Pearce (or Piers), 1592
Thomas Fryer (or Frere), 1595
Richard Manning, . . 1598
George Wingate, . . 1601
. . . . . .
Thomas Shore, . . 1620
Francis Morris, . . 1623
. . . . . .
Richard Kilburn (2 terms), 1664
. . . . . .
*Samuel Ward, . . 1679
. . . . . .
Moses Slade, . . . 1688
Edward Dearmer, . . 1691
. . . . . .
John Kock, . . . 1716
Edward Haulsey, . . 1719
Charles Turner, . . 1722
Robert Jenkyn, . . 1725
Thomas Warde (4 terms), 1734
John Thompson (2 terms), 1747
*Thomas Leach (2 terms), 1753
John Cowper, . . . 1762
*William Ward, . . 1763
William Townsend, . . 1772
Henry Mason, . . 1775
Samuel Denison, . . 1776
*Thomas Eames, . . 1777
Robert Kelham, . . 1784
William Townsend (9 terms), . . . 1787
Hutton Wood, . . 1814
William Kirkby, . . 1817
John Windus, . . 1820
Thomas Wilson, . . 1823
Joseph Bicknell, . . 1826
Thomas Ireland, . . 1829
George Chilton, . . 1833
Cobbett Derby, . . 1835
Edwd. Rowland Pickering, 1838
Hugh Wood, . . . 1841
Edward Chester, . . 1844
Richard Baynes Armstrong, 1847
George Mounsey Gray, . 1850
George Chilton, . . 1852
Andrew Snape Thorndike, 1853
William Sharpe, . . 1856
Edward Walmisley, . . 1859
John Cross, ... 1862
Henry Smith Pownall, . 1865
Arthur Proctor Pickering, 1868
Ewart Simon Mounsey, . 1874
William Sharpe (2nd term), 1877
Edward Walmisley (2nd term), . . . 1880
Francis Cooper Dumville Smythe, . . . 1884

APPENDIX C

The following are the Arms appearing in the windows of the Hall in Staple Inn :—

FIRST WINDOW, SOUTH

This is a very fine example of stained glass, probably equal to the best in any of the Inns of Court.

I. Queen Elizabeth.

Quarterly : 1 and 4, France, 2 and 3, England—Garter—Royal Crown with Cap. *Motto* : 'Dieu et mon Droit.'

II. James I.

Quarterly : I. and IV. quarterly, 1 and 4, France, 2 and 3, England ; II. Scotland ; III. Ireland—Crown and Garter. *Motto* : 'Beati pacifici.'

III. Heir Apparent, afterwards Charles I.

Badge of Three Ostrich Feathers enfiled by coronet, with motto 'Ich Dien,' the whole badge displayed on rays of the sun or, all on a ground gules within the Garter—the Garter surmounted by the circlet from the coronet of the Prince of Wales. No name, but in tablet below, the date 1618.

IV. Sir Richard Hutton (*born* 1560, *entered Staple Inn about* 1578, *Gray's Inn* 1580, *called to the Bar* 1586, *Serjeant and Knight in* 1603, *Judge of Common Pleas* 1617, *died* 1639).

Quarterly : 1 and 4, Argent, on a fesse sable, three stags' heads caboshed or, in chief a crescent or for difference (Hutton) ; 2 and 3, argent, on a bend gules three bezants ; on an escutcheon of pretence gules, three bars gemels or, and a canton sable.

V. Sir Thomas Walmesley (*born* 1537, *entered Lincoln's Inn in* 1559, *Judge of Common Pleas in* 1589, *knighted* 1603, *died* 1612).

Quarterly : 1, Gules, on a chief ermine, two hurts ; 2, argent, three weavers' shuttles in pale sable, the quills of yarn and threads

pendant or; 3, sable, two bars vairé argent and vert; 4, sable, a lion passant in bend between two mullets of five points, all between two bendlets argent; 5, argent, a double-headed eagle displayed purpure, charged on the breast with a crescent of the field; 6, argent, a chevron between three boars passant sable.

VI. Sir Peter Warburton (*entered Lincoln's Inn* 1561, *Judge of Common Pleas* 1600, *knighted* 1603, *died* 1621).

Quarterly: I, and IV. quarterly, Argent and gules, in the first quarter an ermine spot sable, and in the second and third quarters a fret or (Dutton); II. argent, a chevron between three cormorants sable (Warburton); III. argent, two chevronels gules, on a canton of the last a mullet or (Warburton, ancient).

VII. Sir Joseph Yates (*born* 1722, *entered Staple Inn* 1746, *Inner Temple* 1748, *K.C. for Duchy of Lancaster* 1761, *Judge of King's Bench and Knight* 1764, *died* 1770).

Per fesse sable and argent, on a fesse embattled counter-embattled between three gates as many goats heads erased all counter-changed, a crescent in chief for difference.

VIII. George Mounsey Gray, Principal 1850.

Per pale dexter gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent; impaling, chequy or and gules, on a chevron ermine, a naval crown or, between two lions counter passant azure. *Crest*: out of a mural crown or, a demi-eagle displayed proper. *Motto*: 'Vigilate.'

IX. Sir Alan Chambré (*born* 1740, *Young Mess of Staple Inn* 1757, *Middle Temple* 1758, *Gray's Inn* 1764, *Bar* 1767, *Judge in Exchequer Court and Knight* 1799).

Or, a cross ermine between four martlets sable, on a chief azure a crowned serpent [of Milan] devouring a child all proper between two roses gules. *Crest*: a cock proper holding in the dexter claw three ears of wheat or.

SECOND WINDOW, SOUTH

I. Henry Smith Pownall, Principal 1865.

Sable, a lion rampant or. Profile tilting helmet. *Mantling*: vert and argent. *Crest*: a lion's gamb sable, holding a key in bend sinister wards upwards or, with a chain depending from the bow of the key. *Motto*: 'Officium praesto.'

II. Arthur Proctor Pickering, Principal 1868.

Quarterly: 1, Ermine, a lion rampant azure crowned or; 2, gules, a cinquefoil within an orle of eight crosses flory; 3, gules, a fesse between three [? water-bougets] ermine; 4, azure, a fesse nebuly between three crescents ermine. *Mantling*: azure and argent. *Crest*: a lion's gamb erased azure, armed or. *Motto*: 'Pax tua Domine est requies mea.'

III. Ewart Simon Mounsey, Principal 1874.

Chequy or and gules, on a pile vert, a chevron ermine, thereon two lions passant azure, supporting a naval crown or, on a chief wavy also argent a representation of a naval action between men-of-war. *Mantling*: gules and or. *Crest*: on a wreath of the colours a demi-griffin or, collared vert, holding in the claws a flagstaff also or, therefrom flowing to the sinister a pennon azure, thereon the word 'Furieuse' in letters of gold. *Motto*: 'Semper paratus.'

IV. Andrew Snape Thorndike, Principal 1853.

Sable, a cross ermine between four leopards' faces or. *Crest*: a demi-panther guardant or, and incensed proper, holding between the paws a wreath of laurel vert. *Motto*: 'Honestas optima politia.'

V. (No name).

[Upper Shield]

Quarterly of six: 1, Or, two chevrons gules, on a canton argent, two bars azure; 2, gules, three bars argent, on a canton of the second three lozenges conjoined bendways of the first; 3, sable, three walnut leaves in bend or, between two bendlets argent (Waller); 4, azure, a chevron chequy or and sable, between three crosses moline argent; 5, [a jumble of odd bits of glass mixed in repairing]; 6, Barry of ten argent and gules, a bordure azure. [Portions of a broken shield are glazed into background.]

[Lower Shield]

Dexter: Azure, a tower argent within an orle of eight lozenges or; over gules three bendlets argent. *Sinister*: (dimidiated impalement being sinister half of Arms of Montmorency, viz.) or, a cross gules between sixteen eagles displayed azure.

[*It is by no means certain that these arms are not in part composite constructions from fragments, as undoubtedly is the background, in which the shield is set. The panel is composed of some fine glass, but bears no names.*]

VI. William Sharp, Principal 1856, 1877.

Quarterly: 1 and 6, Azure, a pheon argent, on a bordure or, eight torteaux (Sharp); 2, vert, fretty argent (Salkeld); 3, ermine, on a chief dancettée sable, three escallops argent; 4, gules, a chevron between three ostrich feathers argent; 5, argent, a chevron sable between three roses gules. *Mantling*: azure and argent. *Crest*: an eagle's head erased azure, gorged with a ducal coronet or, and holding in the beak a pheon argent. *Motto*: 'Dum spiro spero.'

THIRD WINDOW, SOUTH

I. Edward Walmisley, Principal 1859 and 1880.

Per pale gules and azure, on a chief argent a quatrefoil azure between two hurts—impaling per fesse azure and sable a lion rampant argent, ducally gorged between two cross crosslets in chief and an escallop in base or. *Crest*: on a rock proper, a lion statant guardant ermine, ducally crowned or and charged on the body with two hurts azure. *Motto*: 'Non nobis Domine.' [These arms are described in the General Armory as those of 'Walmisley of the House of Lords,' probably an official there.]

II. (No name.)

[*Quarterly of six, but in parts certainly composed of fragments.*]

1, Fragmentary—on a canton gules a mullet of five points argent; 2, gules, three bars argent, on a canton ermine, a bend lozengy of the first; 3, [quite defaced]; 4, azure, a chevron chequy or and sable between three crosses moline argent [? flory]. [*Compare this with No. 4 on Vth panel, upper shield, in second window, south*]; 5, ermine, a bend gules; 6, [fragmentary, possibly azure, a lion rampant or, holding in his dexter claw a cross fitché].

[*This panel contains some fine ancient glass but no name. Above the shield is a large Tudor rose, below is a merchant's mark of an equilateral triangle, with two horizontal lines and a perpendicular line above. See illustration on page* 131.]

III. John Cross, Principal 1862.

Per fesse indented or and azure, a pale counterchanged, in chief three crosses moline and in base a like cross all counterchanged. *Crest*: on a branch fessways sprouting to the dexter, a stork proper resting its dexter foot on a cross moline or. *Motto*: 'In cruce dum spiro fides.'

FOURTH WINDOW, SOUTH

I. Jonas Sedgly (admitted 27 June 1725).

Or, three lions rampant azure. *Crest*: on a ducal coronet a peacock proper. [This shield is not a Sedgly coat and has the appearance of having been imported from some other window].

FIRST WINDOW, NORTH

I. Charles Baghot. (Contynuer in 1585).

Quarterly: I. and IV., Ermine, on a bend gules, an eagle displayed or; II. sub-quarterly, 1, and 4, or, a fesse between two chevrons gules; 2, and 3, per pale or and argent, a lozenge throughout counterchanged; III. or, between two bars dancettée sable, three pellets and in chief the like number of pellets (*sic*) IV. argent, two barrulets gules each charged with three bezants.

II. (No name, arms of Champion.)

Quarterly: 1, Argent, three trefoils sable; 2, argent, on a fesse embattled between three towers sable as many plates; 3, or, a fesse gules, between three torteaux; 4, or, a tower azure. *Mantling*: gules and argent. *Crest*: on the wreath of the colours a dexter cubit arm in armour, the hand in a gauntlet grasping a champion's laurel wreath all proper. *Motto*: 'Le camp vault miex qe lor.'

III. Thomas Trayle.

Quarterly: I. and IV., subquarterly 1 and 4, quarterly argent and sable; 2, gules, two bars argent; 3, argent, a saltire between four mullets; II and III. or, a chevron gules between two pellets in chief and a dolphin naint azure in base. *Mantling*: gules and argent. *Crest*: a lion's head proper.

IV. Nicholas Brokus, Principal (no date.)

Quarterly of eight: 1, Or, a cross flory sable; 2, gules, on a saltire argent, a torteau; 3, quarterly sable and argent; 4, argent on a bend gules, three bezants; 5, (partly defaced) a lion rampant; 6, or, a pile azure; 7, or, a chief dancettée azure; 8, argent, a chief quarterly or and gules.

ORIEL WINDOW, NORTH

I. Queen Elizabeth.

Quarterly, France and England with the garter.

II. Staple Inn.

Vert, a wool staple argent.

III. Thomas Warde, Principal 1734.

Azure, a cross flory or. *Crest*: a wolf's head erased or.

IV. John Tomson, Principal 1747.

Azure, a lion statant proper. *Crest*: . . . (Qy. in waves of the sea) a demi-lion rampant proper.

V. Thomas Leech, Principal 1753.

Quarterly: 1 and 4, Ermine, on a chief dancettée three ducal crowns or, a crescent for difference; 2 and 3, argent, three bars gemels, over all a lion rampant gules, charged on the shoulder with a cross crosslet fitchy or (Maude). *Crest*: a dexter cubit arm holding in the hand a snake entwined about the arm all proper.

VI. William Ward, Principal 1763.

Same as No. II

VII. Thomas Eames, Principal 1777.

Or, a fesse sable, issuing therefrom a demi-lion rampant gules. *Crest*: a demi-lion rampant sable.

VIII. Robert Kelham, Principal 1784.

Azure, three covered cups or. *Crest*: a double-headed eagle displayed gules.

IX. Samuel Denison, Principal 1776.

Argent, a bend sable between in chief a unicorn's head erased and in base a cross crosslet gules. *Crest*: a dexter cubit arm in bend proper, vested sable, cuffed argent, pointing with the fore-finger to a star of six points, or.

X. John Cowper, Principal 1762.

Argent, on a bend engrailed between two lions rampant sable three plates. *Crest*: a lion rampant supporting a tilting spear erect all sable. [These arms are given in the Visitation of London, 1568, as those of Sir Richard Cowper, Knt., nephew of John Cowper, Serjeant-at-Law.]

XI. William Townsend, Principal 1772.

Azure, a chevron engrailed ermine, between three escallop shells argent. *Crest*: a stag's head proper collared azure thereon three (? bezants).

XII. Henry Mason, Principal 1775.

Or, a double-headed lion rampant azure. *Crest*: a mermaid holding a comb and glass all proper.

XIII. Hutton Wood, Principal 1814.

Azure, three savages erect in fesse standing on a mound proper, each holding over the dexter shoulder a club also proper, and on the sinister arm an escutcheon argent charged with a cross gules, in chief a crescent for difference. *Crest*: an oak tree proper.

XIV. William Kirby, Principal 1817.

Argent, two bars gules, on a canton of the last a cross moline or. *Crest*: on a chapeau gules turned up ermine a torse or and gules encircling a cross moline also or.

XV. John Windus, Principal 1820.

Argent, a fesse dancettée and in chief three crescents gules. *Crest*: a griffin statant argent.

XVI. Thomas Wilson, Principal 1823.

Sable (now defaced), a wolf rampant and in chief three estoiles or. *Crest*: a demi-wolf rampant or.

XVII. Joseph Bicknell, Principal 1826.

Argent, two bars gules, over all a lion rampant azure. *Crest*: a dragon's head vert collared or.

XVIII. Thomas Ireland, Principal 1829.

Gules, six fleur de lys or, three, two and one. *Crest*: a dove holding in its beak an olive branch all proper.

XIX. George Chilton, Principal 1833.

Lozengy or and azure, an eagle displayed ermine. *Mantling*: gules and argent. *Crest*: on a ducal coronet or a boar's head erased close proper. *Motto*: (in a garter round the shield) 'In pectore non venis.'

XX. Edward Rowland Pickering, Principal 1838.

Same as No. II. in second window, south, except *mantling*, which is gules and argent.

XXI. Edward Chester, Principal 1844.

Per pale indented azure and gules, a griffin passant or between three garbs argent. *Crest*: a griffin passant or billety sable supporting with the dexter claw an arrow in bend point upwards proper. *Motto*: 'Labore et honore.'

XXII. Richard Baynes Armstrong, Principal 1847.

Quarterly: 1, Gules, three dexter arms in armour embowed, the

hands clenched proper fessways in pale (Armstrong); 2, sable, two thigh bones in cross argent, in the dexter canton a bezant (Baynes); 3, or, four bars gules and a chief. . . ; 4, or, a fesse chequy gules and of the field between three garbs of the second banded of the first. *Mantling*: gules and argent. *Crest*: a dexter arm in armour embowed holding in hand a shaft of a broken tilting spear all proper.

XXIII. Hugh Wood, Principal 1841.

Same as No. 13 (difference a rose argent.) *Motto*: 'Pro Patria.'

XXIV. Cobbett Derby, Principal 1835.

Argent, three cinquefoils and a canton gules. *Crest*: a dove with wings expanded and inverted or, pellettée holding in the beak a branch of olive vert.

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF ADMISSION TO, AND SURRENDERS OF CHAMBERS

Staple Inn.

The Admission of William Townsend, Gentleman [1767].

At the special Accounts there holden on Wednesday the seventeenth day of June 1767 William Townsend, gentleman, one of the Fellows of this House, is admitted into one whole Ground Chamber at No. 11 in the Garden Court on the west side of the Stair case together with the Cellar under the said Chamber which said Chamber and Cellar fell to this House at Lady Day 1760, old stile, upon the expiration of a Term of sixty years formerly granted by the said House of the said Chamber and Cellar. And the said William Townsend hath in consideration of this his Admittance paid for a fine the sum of £105 to the Pensioner of this House for the use of the same House. And he is to hold the said Chamber and Cellar for and during the Term of his natural life, Rendering therefor to the Pensioner of this House for the time being for the use of the said House for every term wherein the said William Townsend shall not be in Commons in the same House one whole week five shillings. And the said William Townsend is to repair the said Chamber and Cellar and to observe all Exercises of Learning within the said House according to the ancient custom thereof; Provided Always that if the said William Townsend shall be admitted into any Inn of Court or other house of Chancery or shall suffer any Stranger to Lodge in the said Chambers by the space of three nights together without the consent of the Principal or major part of the Ancients of the said House for the Time being Then this Admittance is to be void.

Wm. Ward, *Principal.*
Wm. Hughes.
John Hammond.
Wm. Ayrey.
Robt. Kelham, *Pensr.*

Staple Inn.

The Admission of Robert Kelham the Younger, Gentleman [1778].

At the Accounts there holden on Thursday the second day of July in the eighteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III. by the grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, Robert Kelham the Younger, Gentleman, one of the Fellows of this house, is admitted into one Ground Chamber in the stair case formerly No. 19 but now No. 12 in the Garden Court and into one Cellar under the same as the same is now divided from the other part of the Cellar which said Chamber and Cellar came to this House by the death of Henry Paramor, Esq., late one of the Grandfellows of this House And the said Robert Kelham the younger hath for the Consideration of this his Admittance paid for a fine the sum of £84 to the Pensioner of this House for the use of the same House. And he is to hold the said Chamber and Cellar for and during the Term of his natural life: RENDERING therefor to the Pensioner of this House for the time being for the use of the said House for every Term wherein the said Robert Kelham the Younger shall not be in Commons in the same House one whole week five shillings. And the said Robert Kelham the Younger is to repair the said Chamber and Cellar and to observe all Exercises of Learning within the said House according to the ancient custom thereof. PROVIDED Always that if the said Robert Kelham the Younger shall be admitted into any Inn of Court or other house of Chancery or shall suffer any Stranger to Lodge in the said Chambers by the space of three nights together without the consent of the Principal or major part of the Ancients of the said House for the Time being Then this Admittance is to be void.

WM. WARD, *Pr.*
JOHN COWPER.
WM. TOWNSEND.
THOS. EAMES.
ROBT. KELHAM, *Pensr.*

Staple Inn.

The Admission of George Townsend, Gentleman [1788].

At the Accounts there holden on Friday the fourth day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight,

George Townsend, gentleman, one of the Fellows of this House, is admitted into one whole Chamber and Study up one pair of Stairs on the South Side of the Garden in the Stair Case formerly No. 19 now No. 12 and situate on the East side of the said Stair Case And also into one Cellar thereunto belonging Which said Chamber and Cellar lately came to this House by the death of John Cowper, Gentleman, late one of the Fellows of this House, And the said George Townsend in consideration of this his Admittance hath paid for a fine to the Pensioner of this House for the use of the same House the sum of £128, And he is to hold the said Chamber and Cellar for and during the Term of his Natural Life. RENDERING therefor to the Pensioner of this House for the time being for the use of the same House for every Term wherein he the said George Townsend shall not be in Commons one whole week Five Shillings. And he is to repair the said Chamber and observe all Exercises of Learning within the said House according to the ancient custom thereof. PROVIDED Always and upon this express Condition Nevertheless that if at any time during the life of the said George Townsend the House shall be minded to pull down, new build, or alter the building formerly No. 19 now No. 12 Then the said George Townsend shall on Three Months' notice in writing to be given to him resurrender the said Chamber and Cellar to this House on having such part of the purchase money thereof allowed and returned to him as shall be settled and adjudged by two Indifferent persons One to be named by the House and the other by the said George Townsend and thereupon this Admittance shall determine and be void. PROVIDED Always that if the said George Townsend shall be admitted into any Inn of Court or other House of Chancery or shall suffer any Stranger to Lodge in the same Chambers by the space of three nights together without the consent of the Principal or greater part of the said House for the Time being Then this Admittance is to be void.

WM. TOWNSEND, *Principal.*
ROBT. KELHAM.
SAML. DENISON.
ISAAC REID.
GEO. ANDREE.
THOS. EAMES, *Pensioner.*

[*Endorsed on the above document.*]

Be it remembered that the within named George Townsend has this day surrendered into the hands of the Principal and Antients of this House the within mentioned Chamber and Cellar with the appurtenances To the use of the said Principal and Antients pursuant to the last Will and Testament of William Townsend, Esq., deceased, late Principal of Staple Inn.

twenty-fourth day of January
Dated this ~~third day of July~~ one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Geo. Townsend.

The above surrender was made by the above named George Townsend and taken by me the day and year above written.

Hutton Wood, *Principal.*

21 *December* 1815.—*Surrender of Mr. Joshua Readshaw and Mr. George Townsend of Chambers, No.* 12, *to the use of the Society.*

Whereas on the 31st day of March in the 20th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III., and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty. The undersigned John Readshaw (then the younger) Gentleman, was admitted into the Chamber in Staple Inn, up one pair of Stairs in the brick buildings on the south side of the garden, in the Stair Case No. 12 (formerly No. 19), on the west side of the said Stair Case and into the Cellar under the said Brick Buildings, as the same is now divided from the other part of the said Cellar, and is next adjoining to the Stairs descending into the said Cellar, which said Chambers and Cellar were surrendered to his use by Thomas Lee, gentleman, one other of the fellows of this house. And whereas the undersigned Joshua Readshaw did many years ago assign over all his interest in the said Chambers and premises, with the appurtenances, unto the undersigned George Townsend, of the said Chambers and premises. And whereas the said George Townsend was only a trustee in the said assignment made by the said Joshua Readshaw for his Uncle William Townsend, gentleman, lately deceased, who by his last Will and Testament devised all his interest in the said Chambers and premises to the use of the

Society of Staple Inn aforesaid. Now we the above named Joshua Readshaw and George Townsend, according to our respective estates and interests in the premises, have surrendered and do hereby surrender into the hands of the Principal and Ancients of this house the above named Chamber and Cellar, with the appurtenances, To the use of the said Society of Staple Inn aforesaid. Witness the hands of the said Joshua Readshaw and George Townsend, the twenty-first day of December One thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

JOSHUA READSHAW.
GEORGE TOWNSEND.

The above Surrender was duly taken before me,
HUTTON WOOD, *Principal.*

Staple Inn.

The Admission of George Chilton, Gentleman.

At the Accounts there holden, the twenty-first day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, George Chilton, gentleman, one of the Fellows of this House is admitted to one Chamber up One pair of Stairs in the Brick Buildings on the South of the Garden in the Staircase formerly No. 19, now No. 12, and situate on the West side of the said Stair case. And also all that Cellar under the same as the same is divided from the other part of the said Cellar, and is next adjoining to the Stairs descending to the said Cellar, and which Chamber and Cellar are now in the tenure or occupation of Mr. Henry Mounsey. And the said George Chilton hath in consideration of this his Admittance paid for a fine the sum of £210 to the Pensioner of this House for the use of the same House. And he is to hold the said Chamber and Cellar for and during the Term of his natural life without the power of surrendering the same. Rendering therefore to the Pensioner of this House for the time being for the use of the said House for every term wherein the said George Chilton shall not be in Commons in the same House one whole week five shillings. And the said George Chilton is to repair the said Chamber and Cellar, and to observe all Exercises of Learning within the said House, according to the ancient custom thereof: PROVIDED always that if the said George Chilton shall be admitted into any Inn of Court or other house of Chancery, or shall suffer any Stranger to Lodge in the said Chamber by the space of three nights

together, without the consent of the Principal or major part of the Ancients of this House for the Time being, then this Admittance is to be void.

HUTTON WOOD, *Principal.*
WM. KIRKBY.
EDWD. ROWD. PICKERING.
THOS. WILSON.
JOSEPH BICKNELL.
JOHN POWNALL, *Pensr.*

Endorsed 2nd February 1843.

Be it remembered that the within named George Chilton has this day surrendered into the Hands of the Principal and Antients of this House the within mentioned Chamber and Cellar, with the appurtenances. To the Use of the said Principal and Antients, their heirs and assigns, for the sole benefit and behoof of the said House and Society of Staple Inn aforesaid for ever. Witness the hand of the said George Chilton, this second day of February One thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

GEORGE CHILTON.

The above Surrender was duly taken the day and year above written before me,
HUGH WOOD, *Principal.*

APPENDIX E

LIST OF ADMISSIONS TO STAPLE INN FROM 1716.

This list is taken from the Admission Book of the Inn, which dates from the year above mentioned.

Randall Wilmer	12 May	1716
William Barker, Jr.,	21 June	„
Thomas Ward	26 Oct.	„
William Gray	„ „	„
Thomas Boorne,	31 „	„
Thomas Willis	20 „	„
John Briant, Jr.,	30 Dec.	„
Richard Wylde	4 Jan.	„
Daniel Horsmanden	23 May	1717
Richard Pepys	13 July	„
John Hamond, Jr.	8 Aug.	„
Edward Browne	23 Oct.	„
Timothy Drew	29 Nov.	„
William Hills	1 Feb.	„
Abel Gibson	1 Feb.	„
Richard Washington	14 „	„
Capel Appleby	23 June	1718
George Bell	17 July	„
Jonathan Le Gay	17 June	1719
Edward Haberfield	23 Oct.	„
George Matthews	28 Nov.	„
John Evans	20 Jan.	„
William Wotton	30 „	„
Thomas Thompson	1 Feb.	„
Radus Byde	17 „	„
Thomas Paris	4 July	1720
James Leigh	4 Dec.	„
Barrington Horsmanden	11 Jan.	„
John Marriott	20 Apl.	1721

John Dawson	23 June 1721
Timothy Buck	23 Oct. „
Thomas Martin	„ „ „
Thomas Twitty	„ „ „
Thomas Tooke	9 Feb. „
Edward Reynolds	12 „ „
Thomas Marriott	14 June 1722
Edward Underhill	26 Nov. „
William Hughes	9 „ 1723
Leonard Howard	„ „ „
Henry Orme	8 Feb. 1723
John Lorkin	23 „ 1725
Jonas Sedgly	27 June „
William Wigholm	29 Oct. 1726
Thomas Vaughan	11 Nov. „
Charles Russell	„ „ „
Jenkin Bulcock	12 „ „
Hasell Pitkin	11 Feb. „
William Roberts	1 „ „
William Robinson	7 Apl. 1727
William Taylor	„ „ „
William Sparhawk	9 May „
Samuel Ward	26 June „
Thomas Storer	13 Oct. „
Francis Philips	6 Nov. „
George Nowell	1 May 1728
John Jordan	12 July „
Christopher Appleby	24 Nov. „
Richard Sellwood	26 Feb. „
Henry Althorpe	11 „ „
Peter Brushell	14 May 1729
Thomas Sheppard	14 „ „
Henry Harper	17 June „
Robert Clarke	21 June „
Robert Haslewood	24 „ „
James Barnham	„ „ „
Edward Ward	„ „ „
Richard Reve	„ „ „
Thomas Berkeley	„ „ „
John Ffarside	28 „ „
James Robinson	„ „ „

Robert Martin	28 June 1729
Alexander Jesson	2 July „
George Crosby	„ „ „
George Surtees	22 Nov. „
John Swale	„ „ „
Henry Paramor	4 Dec. „
Robert Loader	4 Feb. „
Samuel Rock	[1] 13 Nov. „
John Smith	29 Apl. 1730
Edward Sanderson	6 July „
Cuthert Clayton	10 Nov. „
John Thomson	14 „ „
William Waddilove	6 Feb. „
Robert Winstanley	6 Apl. „
William Fferraur	19 Feb. „
George Wilson	17 May 1731
Mordecai Hilton	21 „ „
William Derisley	11 Feb. „
Metcalf Rawsthorn	11 May 1732
William Scott	20 June „
Anthony Browne	24 „ „
Thomas Leech	20 Nov. „
John Noyes	„ „ „
Calverley Pinckney	13 June 1733
Thomas Beynon	14 „ „
Robert Chadburn	15 „ „
Levyns Boldero	13 Nov. „
William Vaughan	4 July 1733
Ralph Porter	25 Nov. 1734
William Ward	28 „ „
Francis Larwood	13 June 1735
Jonathan Thompson	24 „ „
John Hardcastle	30 Oct. „
William Chapman	„ „ „
Robert Hadwen	„ „ „
Samuel Garnett	28 Nov. „
Davie Theakston	3 July 1736
George Savile	21 Oct. „

[1] There are several irregularities in the sequence of dates in this list which cannot be explained. It will of course be remembered that previous to A.D. 1753 the new years commenced on the 26th March.

Thomas Pickering	20 Nov.	1736
Robert Seel	„ „	„
Jameson Toft	7 „	„
John Danvers	15 Dec.	„
George Talmadge	2 Mar.	„
Jacob Birkhead	„ „	„
Richard Wilson	27 Apl.	1737
Elias Philip Delaporte	30 „	„
Charles Hodges	11 Nov.	„
Benjamin Collier	21 Dec.	„
Samuel Granger	21 Feb.	„
Enoch Hall.	„ „	„
Richard Tristram	14 „	„
John Hurst	„ „	„
Philip Herbert	7 May	1738
John Hutton	9 Nov.	„
Edward Lillie	11 „	„
Henry Granger	16 „	„
Robert Layton	21 May	1739
Thomas Davis	„ „	„
Charles Morton	22 „	„
Samuel Pratt, Esq.	31 „	„
Edward Woodcock	13 June	„
William Comber Kirkby,	28 „	„
George Dacres	14 July	„
Robert Kelham	24 Nov.	„
Clement Phillipps	22 May	1740
Nathaniel Smith,	3 June	„
John Spencer Colepeper,	13 „	„
Hambleton Custance	23 „	„
John Dighton	11 July	„
Isaac Warner	22 Oct.	„
Leonard Buxton	13 Nov.	„
Alexander Broughton	29 Jan.	„
Thomas Hudson	30 „	„
Edward Ventris	21 Nov.	1741
Thomas Jessapp	11 Dec.	„
John Salthouse	4 Feb.	„
David Jones	15 „	„
William Ayrey	30 Apl.	1743
Harry Morris	21 May	„

Richard Wright	6 July 1743
Richard Marriott	15 „ „
John Coosens	16 Aug. „
Thomas Robinson	1 Dec. „
John Richmond	2 Feb. „
John Cowper	25 Apl. 1744
John Hornby	13 Nov. „
Daniel Conduit	9 Feb. „
Henry Collett	6 Mar. „
William Brockett	13 „ „
George Winn	20 May 1745
Joseph Stanynought	3 „ 1746
Thomas Cook	31 July „
John Ffarrer	15 Nov. „
William Hull	„ „ „
George Hartley	1 Feb. „
Peter Bonnin	6 Feb. „
Joseph Yates	22 „ „
William Dawson	13 May 1747
William Stephens	26 „ „
Henry Jayne	„ „ „
Hampden Weston	2 Feb. „
Samuel Moore	4 Mch. „
Christopher Goulton	2 Feb. „
John Parry	7 Apl. 1748
Pye Donkin	18 Nov. „
John Crawford	„ „ „
Henry Cornelison	15 Nov. 1749
Wentworth Humphreys	3 Feb. „
Richard Wishaw	23 „ „
Robert Wright	4 May 1750
Edward John Eyres	26 June „
Thomas William Baynard	27 „ „
Thomas Yeo	„ „ „
Thomas Dawson Sackfield	13 Dec. „
Nathaniel Worley	20 „ „
Edward Russ	5 Feb. „
John Shepherd	8 „ „
John Davies	14 June 1751
John Romans	30 Nov. „
George Wilson	19 June 1752

David Crow	1 Feb.	1753
Thomas Groome	„ „	„
John Godbold	16 „	„
Thomas Mussendine	31 May	„
Samuel Ffarren	„ „	„
William Bristowe	28 June	„
Edward Surtees	29 „	„
William Webley	„ „	„
Robert Gupper	6 July	„
Joseph Holl	16 Aug.	„
Charles Gupper	26 Apl.	1754
William Ffeilder	14 May	„
William Bristowe	15 „	„
Richard Vever	16 „	„
Thomas Bromley	1 July	„
Thomas Cremer	20 „	„
John Palmer	2 Dec.	„
Thomas Brook	20 „	„
Anthony Dawson	28 Jan.	1755
John Carter	6 Feb.	„
Thomas Middleton	28 Apl.	„
William Mainwaring	27 May	„
Hugh Lloyd Meares	„ „	„
Joseph Hodges	17 June	„
John Sharpe	14 July	„
Charles Ffletewood	3 Nov.	„
Samuel Cox, Esq.	25 „	„
Augustine Greenland	23 Jan.	1756
James Burrows	26 Mar.	„
William Barton Borwick	15 June	„
Thomas Hart	13 Nov.	1756
Wm. Ridgeway, Warwick Court, Stationer, surety.		
Charles Hunt	11 Dec.	„
Richard Whishaw of Staple Inn, surety.		
Alexander Fforbes	2 „	1757
James Jefferson, Combmakers' Hall, surety.		
George Lloyd Meares	11 „	„
Richard Whishaw of Staple Inn, surety.		
Charles Ffrewen	21 Jan.	1758
Chas. Ffrewen, his father, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, surety.		

Thomas Mariott the younger . . . 20 Feb. 1758
Charles Geo. Hudson, brother to Thos. Hudson of this Society, surety.

Thomas Chapman . . . . . 13 Mar. „
Wm. Brockett, surety.

Henry Baker . . . . . 23 „ „
Henry Baker, his father, of St. Mary Strand, surety.

Peter Starkey Ffloyer . . . . 17 June „
Henry Baker, surety.

John Bury of Norwich . . . . 2 May 1759
John Davies, Merchant Taylor, surety.

Thomas Poole, now at Staple Inn . . . 11 „ „
Wm. Wainwright of S. Andrew's, Holborn, grocer, surety.

Ffairfax Ffearnley of Middle Temple, Esq., . . 12 „ „
Samuel Burroughs Phipps of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., surety.

Thomas Benson . . . . . 6 July „
William Hughes, Esq., an Ancient of this House, surety.

Abraham Hancock, now at Staple Inn . . „ „ „
William Hughes, Esq., an Ancient of this Society, surety.

Joseph Hughes, now at Staple Inn . . . 22 Nov. „
John Hughes of Hatton Garden, Apothecary, surety.

James Goldard of Grevile St. . . . 4 Mar. „
William Barton Borwick, surety.

Elborough Woodcock of Lincoln's Inn, one of the sworn Clerks of the High Court of Chancery . 15 Apl. 1760
Edwd. Woodcock of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., surety.

William Roberts of S. Jas., Westmr. . . 22 „ „
Moses Davies of the same parish, bricklayer, surety.

Hopkins Rees, now at Staple Inn . . . 8 May „
David Thomas, Esq., Principal of Clement's Inn, surety.

John Jepsen, now at Staple Inn . . . 13 „ „
Wm. Barton Borwick of Staple Inn, surety.

Richard Thomson, now at Staple Inn . . 24 „ „
John Gould the younger, S. Martin's Vintry, fruiterer, surety.

Simon Clement . . . . . 9 June „
James Goldard of Staple Inn, surety.

Joseph Littlehales, now at Staple Inn . . 6 Nov. „
Baker John Littlehales of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., surety.

John Colby, now at Staple Inn . . . 22 „ „
John Church of Thavies Inn, surety.

William Waller of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. . . 5 Dec. „
John Langstaff of Cursitor St., surety.

John Cowper of S. Albans, Herts. . . . 24 Jan. 1761
Henry Deschamps of Rathbone Place, surety.

Alington Hodges, now at Staple Inn . . 27 „ „
George Jones of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., surety.

Henry Brougham of Castle Yard, Esq. . . 17 Mar. „
Richard Whishaw of this Society, surety.

William Ingmire the younger, now at Staple Inn . 1 May „
Wm. Ingmire the elder, Little Ormond St., surety.

Robert Walter, now at Staple Inn . . . 13 June „
Abraham Hilton of Gray's Inn, surety.

Robert Innes, now at Staple Inn . . . 24 Nov. „
Ffrancis Atkinson, S. Margaret's, Westmr., surety.

William Dearsley of The Temple . . . 1 Dec. „
Wm. Barton Borwick of this Society.

Henry Mason, now at Staple Inn . . . 28 Jan. 1762
Wm. Inge, Bellsavage Yard, surety.

Fletcher Partis of Durham . . . . 11 Feb. „
John Colby of this Society, surety.

William Ambler of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. . . 15 „ „
Robert Wright of this Society, surety.

Robert Dawson, now at Staple Inn . . . 6 May „
William Townsend of Castle Yard, surety.

John Jeffreys of Bath . . . . 22 June „
Saml. Tapscott of Clifford's Inn and
Stephen Skurray of Symond's Inn, sureties.

Josiah Lucas, now at Staple Inn . . . 13 July „
John Bennet of Bartlett's Buildings, surety.

Thomas Eames . . . . . 10 Dec. „
Samuel Kilderbee . . . . . 2 May 1763
Joseph Nicholas Smith, Esq. . . . „ „ „
George Greene . . . . . „ „ „
Robert Watts . . . . . „ „ „
William Plaxton . . . . . 10 May 1763
Thomas Jones . . . . . 30 Nov. „
John Rowsell . . . . . 31 Jan. 1764
Benjamin Sharpe . . . . . 1 Mar. „
Thomas Rutherford . . . . . 22 May „
John Platel . . . . . 23 „ „
William Townsend . . . . . „ „ „
William Michael Lally . . . . 6 Aug. „
Andrew Makilwaine . . . . 27 Nov. „
Edward Kitching . . . . . 3 Dec. 1765

Wilson Pearson	3 Dec.	1765
Samuel Denison	25 „	„
John Margetson	11 Mar.	1766
William Mellish	12 „	„
John Blagden	26 Apr.	„
Robert Alexander, Esq.	5 June	„
Robert Paruther	6 „	„
James Margetson	23 Oct.	„
John Gray	27 Nov.	„
George Dance, Jr.	1 Dec.	„
John Tebbutt	3 „	„
Charles George Hudson	17 Apr.	1767
Edmund Green	4 June	„
John Manton	5 „	„
Robert Moody	27 „	„
Edward Clarke	„ „	„
Richard Edmunds	„ „	„
William Russell	30 „	„
John Churchill	1 Nov.	„
James Snowdon	19 Dec.	„
Joseph Cooke	23 „	„
Edward Kelly, Esq.	24 June	1768
Richard Smart	15 Feb.	1769
John Cracroft	„ „	„
George Andree	„ „	„
Thomas Meggison	„ „	„
Isaac Reed	7 Mar.	„
Jerningham Cheveley	8 „	„
George Cuthbert	„ „	„
Richard Nowell	„ „	„
William Paramor	31 May	„
Robert Kelham, Jr.	20 Dec.	„
Henry Brougham, Jr.	13 Apr.	1771
Simon Hardy	1 May	„
James Mountfort	9 „	„
Robert Griningham	22 „	„
Skynner Edward Russell	28 „	„
Robert Watts, Jr.	10 Nov.	„
John Everal	31 Dec.	„
Charles Edward Lewis	22 Feb.	„
John Cowper, Jr.	17 Mar.	„

Henry Peele	18 Apr. 1771
John Hall	14 May „
Samuel Harris	16 „ „
William Hampson	23 „ „
Samuel Clarke	31 July „
Edmund Lechmere	7 Nov. „
Thomas Pitt Smith	4 May 1773
Robert Rainsford	„ „ „
Charles Heblethwayte	23 June „
William Hardy	15 July „
John Hogarth	19 Aug. „
Thomas Lee	6 May 1774
John Nield	28 Apr. 1775
Christopher Johnson	13 Nov. „
John King	24 „ „
Richard Farthing Lee	14 Feb. 1776
William Leeson	11 „ „
Francis Mannyng	7 Mar. „
Francis Fairbank	„ „ „
William Pope	28 Apr. „
Joshua Readshaw, Esq.	8 May „
Carew Elers	5 June „
Benjamin Wells	12 „ „
Harry Jennings	4 July „
Henry Nicholas Lionel Berkeley	„ „ „
William Waller, Jr.	8 „ „
John Matthew Grimwood	„ „ „
George Townshend Sloper	14 Nov. „
Robert Killick	9 Mar 1777
William Kirkby	3 May „
Augustin John Mayhew	14 „ „
James Howson	6 July „
Hutton Wood	20 Nov. „
Owsley Rowley	10 Feb. 1778
Robert Vaughen Mussendine	4 May „
Benjamin Rooke	„ „ „
Edward Saxelby	5 „ „
John Winter	6 July „
Jonathan Horner	„ „ „
John Hughes	13 Jan. 1779
George Sharland	5 Feb. „

Robert Talbot	5 Feb.	1779
John Kinderley	26 „	„
Daniel Leeson	1 Mar.	„
Mordaunt Lawson Clennell	10 „	„
Isaac Hindley	„ „	„
John Boys	15 Apr.	„
Thomas Abree Pickering	17 „	„
Robert Greenhow	13 Nov.	„
William Baker Yates	29 „	„
Thomas Woodcock	3 Jan.	1780
Thomas Brooke	25 „	„
Richard Field	27 „	„
Timothy Markham	31 „	„
William Wilshere	12 Feb.	„
Allan Cameron	6 Apr.	„
Thomas Martin Langdale	23 May	„
Edward Lane	16 June	„
Charles North Hunt	7 July	1781
Frederick Thomas Smith	6 Aug.	1782
Henry Hodgson	8 May	1781
William Bryant	24 June	„
Thomas Harford	4 July	„
John Robinson	6 Nov.	„
Ellis Shipley Pestell	„ „	„
John Thomlinson	„ „	„
Francis Wilmot	„ „	„
William Cook	7 Jan.	1782
Hutton Wood	20 Mar.	„
William Nicholson	8 May	„
Arthur Onslow, Esq.	24 June	„
John Cartwright	3 Mar.	1783
Thomas Colley	5 „	„
Thomas Hawkins	„ „	„
William Clark	14 „	„
Thomas Atkinson	6 Mar.	1782
Thomas Smith	4 „	1783
John Smart	15 Dec.	„
Henry Harrison	10 Feb.	1784
Benjamin Sparke	5 Mar.	„
John Smedley	8 „	„
Thomas Nichols	10 „	„

James Hyde	11 Mar. 1784
William Thwaits	„ „ „
Daniel Cabanel	24 Apr. „
Dominick Rice, Esq.	29 June 1784
Charles Short	8 July „
Harry Kelly	9 „ „
Henry Sampson Fry	6 Nov. „
Charles Owen Cambridge	29 „ „
Charles Arnold	26 Jan. 1785
George Townsend	31 „ „
John Bagshaw, Esq.	9 Feb. „
Harry Cator	28 May „
Jonathan Descoll	27 Jan. 1786
John Reynolds, jr.	7 Nov. 1785
James Comrie	„ „ „
Rinson Bonham	3 May 1786
John Richards	5 „ „
John Walker	5 „ „
William Watts	14 July „
Thomas Ireland	10 Aug. „
The Rev. Thomas Lee	9 Nov. „
William Chester	9 „ „
William Newton	20 „ „
Samuel Humphreys	27 „ „
Jacob Irving	26 Dec. „
William Thockmorton	30 „ „
Alexander Fraser	29 „ „
Francis William Saunders	15 Nov. 1787
Conrade Coulthurst	30 „ „
George Rowley	„ „ „
Richard Richardson	10 Dec. „
Thomas Morgan	26 Jan. 1788
John Roper	23 May „
Edmund Nash	26 Nov. „
John Waddy Bryant	5 Feb. 1789
Joseph Bicknell	6 „ „
Samuel Bowyer	10 „ „
Peter Luard	13 May „
Robert Hillier	21 July „
Charles Birbeck Andree	1 Feb. 1790

The Rev. Thos. Lee of Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Bateman . . . . . 29 Apl. 1790
John Harry Bateman, Cursitor St., surety.

Alexander Macdougall . . . . . 5 May „
John Thomlinson, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Emerson . . . . . 23 Juue „
Joseph Peart, The Poultry, Hosier, surety.

Charles Cookney, jr. . . . . 25 „ „
George Miller of Barnard's Inn, surety.

John Fraser . . . . . 19 Nov. „
Samuel Bowyer, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Ward Blagrove . . . . . 25 „ „
John Waller, Paternoster Row, coffeeman, surety.

Thomas Wilson . . . . . 27 „ „
James Crossfield, Middle Temple, surety.

Palmer Hurst . . . . . 5 Jan. 1791
Edmund Nash, Staple Inn, surety.

William Mason . . . . . 5 Feb. „
John Mason, Deptford, surety.

Richard Nicholl . . . . . 26 May „
Thomas Loggon of Castle St., Holborn, surety.

Conrad Coulthurst . . . . . 27 „ „
Tempest Coulthurst, Featherstone Bldgs., surgeon, surety.

George Chilton . . . . . 16 July „
John Smart, surety.

John Hill Blanchard . . . . . 6 Oct. „
Wm. Lestourgeon, Bartlett's Bldgs., Warehouseman, surety.

Anthony Wagner . . . . . 19 „ „
Conrade Coulthurst, Staple Inn, surety.

William Charles Ward . . . . . 6 Dec. „
Charles B. Andree, surety.

Samuel Badeley, ... 9 „ „
Henry Jermyn, Gray's Inn, Esq., surety.

John Doo, Jr. . . . . 10 „ „
John Doo, Senr., Clipping, Herts, surety.

Francis Edwards . . . . . 19 „ „
Francis Day, Crown St., Soho, surety.

Hugh Harrison . . . . . 19 Jan. 1792
John Robinson, Gray's Inn, surety.

William Adams, Jr.. . . . . 23 Jan. „
Patience Thomas Adams, Senr., Hatton Garden, Esq., surety.

Richard Wordsworth . . . . . 3 Nov. „
Hugh Harrison Staple Inn, surety.

John Pearson . . . . . 7 Jan. 1793
James Hyde, Staple Inn, surety.

Patrick De Courcy . . . . . 4 Feb. „
Maurice Ahern, Holborn, merchant, surety.

Meredith Price . . . . . 11 „ „
Wm. Chas. Ward, Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Hawkins . . . . . 2 Mar. „
John Sidney Hawkins, the Chancery Office, Esq., surety.

Thomas Hervey . . . . . 10 May „
George King, Brook St., Ipswich, Esq., surety.

John Martin Rouffeau . . . . . 2 July „
Chas. B. Andree, surety.

Leonard Hampson . . . . . 27 Sept. „
Wm. Hampson. Luton, Esq., surety.

William O'Brien . . . . . 28 „ „
George Sammes, Inn Keeper, Holborn, surety.

Anthony Burrow . . . . . 21 June 1794
Anthony Wagner, Staple Inn, surety.

William Stott . . . . . 24 July „
Richard Nicholl, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Chippindale . . . . . 16 Dec. „
John Thomlinson, Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Woodgate . . . . . 21 May 1795
James Redit, Carey St., surety.

Peter Bartlett . . . . . 24 Nov. „
Samuel Smith, Hart St., Bloomsbury, surety.

John Hood Berridge . . . . . 28 „ „
Wm. Berridge, Wood St., City, surety.

John Windus, Jr. . . . . 28 „ „
Wm. Phimer Windus, Thavie's Inn, surety.

John Windsor . . . . . 27 Feb. 1796
John Windus, Jr., Staple Inn, surety.

John Briggs, ... 16 June „
Alexr. Macdougall, Staple Inn, surety.

Archer Moore Barlow . . . . . 21 „ „
John Windsor, Serjeant's Inn, surety.

John Briggs . . . . . 16 „ „
Alexr. Macdougall, Staple Inn, surety.

Archer Moore Barlow . . . . . 21 „ „
John Windsor, Serjeant's Inn, surety.

John Pownall . . . . . 30 „ „
Thomas Wilson, Staple Inn, surety.

Edward Clarke . . . . . 8 Dec. „
John Windus, Jr., Staple Inn, surety.

Charles Deare . . . . . 16 Mar. 1797
Thomas Chippindale, Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Husey . . . . . 25 „ „
Hubert Husey, Cheapside, linendraper, surety.

William Haynes . . . . . 30 „ „
Thomas Haynes, S. Saviour's, Borough, plumber, surety.

Thomas Whalley . . . . . 25 Apl. „
Chas. Tatlock, Cateaton St., City, warehouseman, surety.

Thomas Baylis . . . . . 1 July „
John Cuxson, Inner Temple, surety.

John Cuxson . . . . . „ „ „
Jas. Humphreys, Lincoln's Inn Old Bldgs, surety.

James Humphreys . . . . . „ „ „
John Cuxson, Inner Temple, surety.

James Wilson . . . . . „ „ „
John Morgan, Bedford Sq., Esq., surety.

James Sayers . . . . . „ „ „
Jos. Wigg, Gray's Inn, builder, surety.

William S. Julien Arabin . . . . . „ „ „
John Windus, Jr., Staple Inn, surety.

Robert Woodriff . . . . . 4 „ „
William Dyne, Serjeant's Inn, surety.

Andrew Parry . . . . . 5 „ „
Lancelot Docker, Staple Inn, surety.

Bartholomew Churchill Carter . . . 2 Apl. 1798
Henry Barker, Gray's Inn, Esq., surety.

John Henry Hobson . . . . . 19 July „
Anthony Hart, Middle Temple, Esq., surety.

Anthony Wagner . . . . . 9 Apl. 1799
Conrade Coulthurst, Bedford Row, surety.

Henry Pocock . . . . . 15 July „
John Pocock, The Terrace, Gray's Inn Lane, surety.

William Graham . . . . . 25 Sept. 1800
John Pownall, Staple Inn, surety.

John Prujean . . . . . 2 July „
Henry Errington, Stable Yard, S. James', Esq., surety.

Charles Bury . . . . . 3 Oct. „
Alexr. Macdougall, Staple Inn, surety.

Cobbett Derby . . . . . 2 Dec. „
Richard Debary, Inner Temple, surety.

Benjamin Rooke, Jr. . . . . 10 „ „
Benjn. Rooke the Elder, Hertford, surety.

Edward Rowland Pickering . . . . 30 „ „
John Andree, Hatton Garden, surgeon, surety.

Charles Williams . . . . . 12 Jan. 1801
Richard Mathews, Somerset St., Portman Sq., surety.

Thomas Lambert . . . . . 3 Feb. „
Edward Clarke, Lincoln's Inn, surety.

Edmund Francis Green . . . . 26 Nov. 1802
George Tennant, Gray's Inn, surety.

Charles Carwell Coles . . . . 14 Oct. 1803
George Watkins, Lincoln's Inn, surety.

Thomas Hellis . . . . . 28 Aug. 1804
John Thomlinson, Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Dunster . . . . . 3 Oct. „
Richard Dunster, Inner Temple, surety.

George Boulton Mainwaring, Esq. . . . 28 Sept. „
John Bowles, Dulwich, Esq., surety.

Henry Platel . . . . . 10 Oct. „
George Hicks Pall, Gray's Inn, Esq., surety.

Lucius O'Brien . . . . . 17 May 1809
David Thomas, Staple Inn, surety.

Robert Cupper, Esq. . . . . 7 Apl. 1812
Stephen Moore, Sloane St., Esq., surety.

Benjamin George Blackden, Esq. . . . 23 July „
Benjn. Blackden, High Wycombe, Esq., and
George Pitt Hurst, Newport Pagnell, Esq., sureties.

James Lowe . . . . . 7 Aug. 1815
Nicholas Winckley, 3 Elm Court Temple, surety.

Thomas Canning . . . . . 2 Feb. „
Thos. Canning the Elder, Streatley House, Nr. Reading, Esq., surety.

George Spence . . . . . „ „ „
Robert Spence, 57 in the Borough of Southwark, surety.

Richard Baynes Armstrong . . . . „ „ „
Christopher Beverley, Staple Inn, surety.

Christopher Beverley . . . . „ „ „
Richard Baynes Armstrong, Gray's Inn, surety.

Joseph Fisher . . . . . 9 July „
Henry Mounsey, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Holme Bower . . . . 23 „ 1816
James Lowe, Southampton Bldgs., surety.

Horace Watson . . . . . 14 Aug. „
Danl. Stalker, Up. Guildford St., surety.

William Wybergh Howe . . . . 13 Dec. „
Joseph Fisher, Staple Inn, surety.

Hugh Wood . . . . . 26 Nov. 1818
Mark Malin, Exchequer Office, Temple, surety.

Jeremiah Simpson . . . . . 17 Mch. 1819
Charles Holland, Craven St., Strand, surety.
(*Bond withdrawn* 12 *Feb.* 1838.)

William Pownall . . . . . 25 Feb. 1820
Stephen Moore, Staple Inn, surety.

Edward Chilwell Williamson . . . 15 June „
Leonard Hampson, Luton, surety.

Edward Gatty . . . . . 6 „ 1821
Thomas Howe, Lincoln's Inn, surety.

Henry Lowe . . . . . 31 Aug. 1822
James Lowe, Southampton Bldgs., surety.

Henry Combe . . . . . 23 June 1823
John Ring, 66 Up. Charlotte St., Esq., surety.

Henry Incledon Pilcher . . . . 13 Feb. 1824
Francis Pilcher, Lower Grosvenor Place, surety.

John Pownall, Jr., of the Six Clerks' Office, Chancery Lane . . . . . 14 July „
Thomas White, 2 Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas White . . . . . „ „ „
James Cross, Staple Inn, surety.

George Mounsey Gray . . . . 7 Feb. 1825
Edward Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

Edward Chester . . . . . „ „ „
John Pownall, Jr., Staple Inn, surety.

David Langton . . . . . 17 Feb. 1826
Edward Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Cuvelje . . . . . 15 Apl. „
Richard Baynes Armstrong, Staple Inn, surety.

James Cross . . . . . 2 Feb. 1827
John Pownall, Jr., Six Clerks' Office, surety.

Andrew Snape Thorndike . . . . 3 „ „
Edward Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

James Thomas Cookney . . . . 14 „ „
Edward Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

Henry Gibson Green . . . . 16 „ 1828
Edward Rice, Field Court, Gray's Inn, Esq., surety.

Joseph Shrimpton . . . . . 15 May „
Edward Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

William Watts . . . . . 28 July 1829
The Rev. Robert Watts, Sion College, surety,

Robert Henry Sawyer . . . . 18 Nov. „
John Pownall.

Thomas James Ireland . . . . . 6 Sept. 1833
John Wilkinson, Lincoln's Inn, Esq., surety.

Cobbett Derby the younger . . . . . 14 July 1836
Charles Lyndon, Stockbridge Terr., Pimlico, surety.

William Peason . . . . . 20 Feb. 1837
John Fleming, Holborn, druggist, surety.

George Smith Pickering . . . . . 10 July 1840
Edward Tompson, Lincoln's Inn, surety.

William Sharp . . . . . 12 May 1841
James Cross, Staple Inn, surety.

Thomas Leadbitter . . . . . 1 Feb. 1843
John Leadbitter Smith, Bird Hill, Co. Durham, Esq., surety.

Robert Rowell Fretwell . . . . . 6 „ „
James Hartin, 3 Finsbury Place, Surgeon, surety.

John Richardson Chester . . . . . 30 Nov. „
Robert Toulmin, Staple Inn, surety.

John Stanley Joy . . . . . 6 Feb. 1845
James Cross, Staple Inn, surety.

Edward Walmisley . . . . . 15 Apl. 1847
Alfred Sayers Edmunds, South Sq., Gray's Inn, surety.

Charles Mathew Clode . . . . . „ „ „
Edward Wodley Ashfield, Aspley, Co. Bedford, surety.

Henry Richardson Chester . . . . . 22 Feb. 1849
Robert Toulmin, Staple Inn, surety.

Alfred Benjamin Carpenter . . . . . 31 May 1850
Rev. Chas. Carpenter, Eye, Co. Suffolk, surety.

David Langton . . . . . 3 June „
John Richardson Chester, Staple Inn, surety.

Hugh Haywood Blackmore . . . . . 6 „ „
Philip Frederick James, Staple Inn, surety.

William Smith . . . . . 8 July 1851
Alfred Smith, Pall Mall, architect, surety.

John Griffiths Reynell . . . . . 23 Dec. „
George Reynell, Chancery Lane, surety.

Thomas Johnston . . . . . 8 Nov. 1852
Joseph Raw, Furnival's Inn, surety.

George Godby Vincent . . . . . 23 „ „
Wm. Layton Vincent, Queen's Bldgs., Brompton, Middlesex, surety.

Henry Smith Pownall . . . . . 16 Dec. „
John Cross, Staple Inn, surety.

John Cross . . . . . 11 May 1853
Henry Smith Pownall, Staple Inn, surety.

Ewart Simon Mounsey . . . . 5 May 1854
Robert Heysham Mounsey, Carlisle, surety.

Arthur Proctor Pickering . . . . 26 Feb. 1856
Edward Tompson, Lincoln's Inn, surety.

Edward Chester . . . . . 10 Aug. 1858
Edward Chester the Elder, Staple Inn, surety.

Joseph Ivimey . . . . . 3 May 1860
John Albemarle Buckland, 32 Gt. Coram St., surety.

Richard Matthews . . . . . 13 June 1862
Wm. Ricketts Pownall, 8 Park St., Westmr., surety.

Edward Rewell Phillips . . . . . 3 „ 1863
Moreton Rewell Phillips, audit office, London and South-Western Railway Co., Waterloo, surety.

Henry Ivimey . . . . . 8 „ „
Joseph Ivimey, 8 Staple Inn, surety.

Daniel Traves Burges . . . . . „ „ „
George Burges, Lincoln's Inn Fields, surety.

John Urquhart . . . . . 16 Jan. 1866
Jonathan Dickson Ikin, civil engineer, 17 Great George St., surety.

Charles Gwilt . . . . . 21 May „
William Smith, 13 Northumberland St., Strand, surety.

Francis Cooper Dumville Smythe . . . 10 „ 1869
Wm. Smythe, 4 Eaton Place, Brighton, surety.

Michael Hodgson Tatham . . . . 12 June 1876
Alfred Charles Tatham, 11 Staple Inn, surety.

Alfred Charles Tatham . . . . . „ „ „
Michael Hodgson Tatham, 11 Staple Inn, surety.

Janns Vaughan Brettell . . . . . „ „ „
Janns John Brettell, 2 Staple Inn, surety.

Arthur Mayhew . . . . . „ „ „
James Wm. Wright, 73 Jermyn St., Esq., surety.

Frank Broome . . . . . 19 Apr. 1880
Edward Alfred Broome, Anley King's, Co. Worcs., surety.

Henry Stanley Smith . . . . . „ „ „
Janns Vaughan Brettell, 2 Staple Inn, surety

Alfred George Tatham . . . . . „ „ „
Edward Bennett Bennett, Worcester Park, Surrey, surety.

Thomas Penson Griffiths . . . . 8 Feb. 1881
Frank Broome, 11 Staple Inn, surety.

[Note.—Every person admitted and every surety is described in the Admission Register as 'gentleman' except as otherwise described and stated in the above list.]

APPENDIX F

STAPLE INN YOUNG MESS

Rolls of the Young Mess of Staple Inn 1716 to 1807 copied from the originals by Isaac Reed, Editor of Shakespeare's Works, and member of Staple Inn from 1769 to 1807, now transcribed for this work. [Isaac Reed's copy is in the Library of the Guildhall.]

ROLL 1st.

An account of the Plate belonging to the Young Mess at Staple Inn given by the following members thereof for the use of the Mess :—

A Couple of Salts and Two Spoons,
one marked R. C.
a Spoon by Mr. Davis.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Storer.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Derisly.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Leech.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Henry Granger.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Hodges.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Layton.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Kirkby.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Je (*name illegible*).
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Ventris.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Marriott.
1745 a Spoon by Mr. Cowper.
1746 a large Soup Spoon by Mr. Hudson,
Mr. Ayrey, and Mr. Wright.
1747 a Spoon by Mr. Yates.
1747 a Spoon by Mr. Dawson.
1754 a large Soup Spoon by Mr. Stonynought,
Mr. Gapper, and Mr. Bristowe.

ROLL 2ND.

STAPLE INN
YOUNG MESS. } *February 16th*, 1704.

MEMORANDUM.—It is this day resolved by the gentlemen of Staple Inn who are members of the Mess commonly called the Young Mess. That whatever gentleman shall at any time hereafter come into Commons and be admitted a member of the said Mess shall, on such Admission, give twelve bottles of good Clarett to the Members of the said Mess. And that if any Member of the said Mess shall move that the Person admitted may pay less than twelve bottles, the person so moving shall pay one gallon for such offence.

H. Davis.
Chr. Goulton.
Ran. Wilmer.
Will. Parker.
Tho. Warde.
G. Tushingham, junr.
T. Buck.
Wm. Hills.
Richard Sellwood.
Thomas Storer.
Edward Underhill.
Edw. Haberfield.
Wm. Taylor.
Peter Brushell.
Tho. Swale.
Alexr. Jesson.
George Crosby.
Jno. Smith.
Edw. Sanderson.
Cuthbt. Clayton.
Wm. Waddilove.
R. Winstanley.
M. Rawsthorne.
Mordecai Hilton.
Tho. Leech.
Willm. Derisley.
L. Boldero.
R. Porter.

Jno. Hardcastle.
Wm. Chapman.
Ro. Hadwen.
Davie Theakston.
Rob. Seel.
Geo. Savile.
T. Pickering.
Enoch Hall.
now Ld. Ch. Justce. of Carolina.
Saml. Granger.
H. Granger.
Jacob Birkhead
Edw. Lillie.
Chas. Hodges.
Robt. Layton.
Thomas Davis.
Cha. Morton.
John Hutton.
W. Kirkby.
Clem. Phillips.
Isaac Warner.
Tho. Hudson.
Tho. Jessopp.
Edward Ventris.
Dav. Jones.
Wm. Ayrey.
Richard Marriott.
Elias Philip Delaporte.

Ri. Wright.
J. Cowper.
T. Robinson.
Wm. Brockett.
Hen. Collett.
Jno. Hornby.
Jos. Stanynought.
Thos. Cook.
Wm. Hulls.
Joseph Yates.
one of the Judges of the K. B. Hil. 1764.
W. Dawson.
Wm. Stephens.
Geo. Hartley.
Saml. Moore.
Pye Donkin.
Richd. Tristram
John Parry.
W. Humphrys.
Henry Jayne.
Rd. Whishaw.
Robt. Wright.
Thos. Yeo.
Edward John Eyre.
Wm. Ward.
T. Sackfield.
Nic. Worley.
John Davis.
J. Romans.
Da. Crowe.
W. Bristowe.
Thos. Groome.
Jos. Holl.
Chas. Gapper.
Ricd. Bristowe.
Wm. Fielder.
Thos. Bromley.

1754

Samuel Farren.
Benja. Collier.
A. Dawson.
W. Mainwaring.
Hugh Lloyd Meares.
Joseph Hodges.
Wm. Webley.
J. Sharpe.
Co. Hunt.
Entered in the wrong place: see below.
Saml. Cox.
Jno. Carter.
Aug. Greenland.
James Burrow, Jun.
W. B. Borwick.
Tho. Hart.
N.B.—Mr. Hunt's Admissn. was next after Mr. Hart's, altho' by himself entred above.
Chas. Frewen.
Henry Baker.
Thos. Marriott, Junr.
Peter Starkey Floyer.
Jno. Hurst.
Tho. Poole.
Tho. Benson.
Will. Roberts.
Jos. Hughes.
H. Rees.
Jo. Jepson.
Richd. Thomson.
S. Clements.
Jno. Colby.
Wm. Waller.
Wm. Ingmire, Junr.

ROLL 3RD

Continued June 1761

Allington Hodges.
Jas. Geldard.
R. Walter.
Willm. Dearsley.
Fletc. Partis.
Wm. Ambler.
Henry Mason.
Rob. Dawson.
J. Lucas.
Thos. Eames.
A. Chambre.
Jno. Platel.
William Fellowes.
W. M. Lally.
Wm. Townsend.
Thos. Jones.
Wilson Pearson.
Edward Kitching.
Saml. Denison.
Jno. Blagden.
R. Paruther.
Wm. Russell.
John Tebbutt.
Richd. Edmunds.
Rich. Smart.
John Cracroft.
Geo. Andree.
Thos. Meggison.
Geo. Cuthbert.
Jer. Cheveley.
W. Paramor.
Ja. Snowden.
Cha. G. Hudson.
Ic. Reed.
Robt. Gordon.
Si. Hardy.
Cha. Edw. Lewis.
J. Hall.
Henry Peele.
Edmd. Lechmere.
Jas. Mountfort.
Robt. Raynsford.
Charles Heblethwayte.
Thos. Lee.
Rich. F. Lee.
F. Fairbank.
Trin. Term 1782. Struck off by order for not sending in wine on his marriage.
Wm. Pope.
Christr. Johnson.
Joshua Readshaw.
Wm. Leeson.
Benj. Wells.
Wm. Purvis.
Wm. Kirkby.
Liol. Berkeley.
A. J. Mayhew.
Owsley Rowley.
Jas. Howson.
R. Mussendine.
R. Kelham, Junr.
Carew Elers.
John Winter.
Robt. Talbot.
Jno. Hughes.
Geo. Sharland.
Danl. Leeson.
John Kinderley.
Tho. Martin Langdale.
Willm. Cooke.
Arthur Onslow.
Henry Yates.
J. Cartwright.
Tho. Smith.

John Smart.
Tho. Hawkins.
Dom. Rice.
Geo. T. Sloper.
Charles Short.
Benjn. Sparke.
Henry Sampson Fry.
C. O. Cambridge.

ROLL 4TH

STAPLE INN
YOUNG MESS } *February the 4th*, 1717.

MEMORANDUM.—It is this Day resolved by the Gentlemen of Staple Inn who are members of the Mess commonly called the Young Mess that every Member of this Mess that shall hereafter enter into the honourable state of Matrimony shall the next Term ensuing such Marriage pay unto such of the Members of the said Mess as shall be then in Commons Twelve Bottles of Good Clarett.

[THE SAME NAMES.]

ROLL 6TH

STAPLE INN
YOUNG MESS } 19*th of November* 1702.

MEMORANDUM.—It is this day resolved by the Gentlemen of Staple Inn who are members of the Mess commonly called the Young Mess that each Member of the said Mess that shall be called up and accept of the honour of being made an Ancient of this Society shall upon such his acceptance or admission pay the sum of One Guinea to be spent on the Members of this Mess.

[THE SAME NAMES.]

ROLL 8TH.

YOUNG MESS.
STAPLE INN, } 30*th Novr.* 1757

It was this day unanimously resolved and agreed that every Member of this Mess who at any time or times hereafter bring in a dining Visitor shall for and with each and every such Visitor pay or bring in a bottle of red port wine for the common use of the Mess, and that this shall be a standing order of the Mess.

THO. HUDSON.

By Indorsemts. it appears that the records of the Young Mess were 27 May 1731 delivered by W. Hills to Edw. Underhill.

Trin. Term 1745, by him to Thos. Storer.
Trin. Term 1754, to Charles Gapper.
Easter Term 1764, by Thos. Cook to John Colby.
Michs. Term 1764, by Wm. Brockett to John Platell.
Trin. Term 1767, by Wm. Russell to Thos. Hart.
Hilary Term 1770, by Allington Hodges to Richd. Smart.
Hilary Term 1778, by Owsley Rowley to Christr. Johnson.

APPENDIX G

MEMBERS OF STAPLE INN IN A.D. 1585

(*Vide* Lans. MS. 47, 34-35.)

Staple Inne, Hilary Term, Anno 27 Elizth. (1585).

The names of the Gentlemen there nowe in Comons as well Termers as Contynuers with others not in Comons lyke to contynewe of the same felowship :—

Vyncent Engeham, *princ.*
William Deathe.
Robert Mansell.
Thomas Allyn.
Robert Wyllett.
Rychard Toke.
Thomas Pyers.
Edwarde Hunt.
Thomas Ffryer.
Rycharde ——
George Wyngate.
(Sum, 11.)

Termers.

Thomas Amyas.
Cuthert Bryerton.
Willm. Acclam.
Mychaell Boyse.
Richard Belfyeld.
Edwarde Burnett.
Thomas Barneby.
John Blythe.
Thomas Beale.
Reighnold Basse.
George Cowell.
Humphrey Clarke.
Willm. Coppyn.
Thomas Colchester.
William Deane.
Edwarde Darbyshere.
Rycharde Darnell.
John Downton.
Thomas Engeham.
Willm. Ffermer.
Martyn Ffosbrooke.
Rycharde Gaunt.
Edwarde Godden.
Willm. Hawes.

Willm. Hertford.
Walter James.
Henry Jefferson.
William Knyght.
James Knell.
John Kele.
Thomas Cloke.
Walter Moyle.
Rycharde Manninge.
Willm. Nun.
Willm. Nowell.
John Norborne.
Rycharde Nelson.
Rycharde Pyerson.
Willm. Pennyman.
Thomas Pope.
Willm. Rygden.
John Rose.
Thomas Rele.
Rycharde Rawlyns.
Thomas Sare.
Lyon Skypwith.
Michaell Shawe.
George Smyth.
Anthony Tutsham.
Rychard Vynyes.
Thomas Wolphe.
Danyell Willett.
John Wryght.
George Younge.
Walter Romsey.
Thomas Hunt.
John Ffreebody.
Thomas Pylkenton.
George Clowthe.
Henry Stallon.

(Sum 60.)

Contynuers.

William Astrye.
Thomas Astrye.
Rycharde Anger.
George Aynscombe.
Henry Bulle.
Anthony Busterd.
Abraham Bonsue.
Alexander Barrington.
—— Barrow.
—— Bryan.
Edwarde Byrnand.
Willm. Byrnand.
Thomas Bawtrye.
Rycharde Barton.
—— Browne.
Charles Bagehott.
Frauncys Claxton.
William Cobbe.
John Dabrydgecourt.
Anthony Denham.
Robt. Dowherst.
Thomas Esson.
Henry Ffermer.
Rycharde Fitzwilliams.
Nycholas Fitzwilliams.
Thomas Gylbert.
Augustine Garland.
Ffelyx Edwards.
John Hales.
Stephen Harenden.
Willm. Horsepoole.
Thomas Howden.
Danyell Hylle.
John Ingledewe.
John Johnson.
George Lewes.
Thomas Lyghe.
Willm. Lygh.
Willm. Morgan, Senr.
Willm. Morgan, Junr.
James Massey.
John Moblyt.
John Mordaunt.

Robert Meade.
Edwarde Myller.
Thomas Moyle.
Henry Morgan.
Stephen Muryell.
Mathewe Pryce.
Rycharde Perrye.
Beniamyn Pyerson.
Thomas Partryge.
Rycharde Randolphe.
Henry Stanton.
Peter Starkey.
Thomas Stanley.
Edwarde Stanley.
Henry Stevens.
John Sydwaye.
Frauncys Thorndyck.
Thomas Tunstall.
George Vaux.
Anthony Woodhull.
John Woodhull.
Willm. Wyllyngton.
John Wetherston.
Mathewe Antekell.
Humphrey Whittingham.

(Sum 69.)

Dwelling and resyant (sic) in London and not nowe in Comons.

John Turke.
John Ffoster.
Asshely Brooke.
Humphrey Webbe.
Thomas Ffoxe.

(Sum 5.)

(Sum total, 145.)

Note.—Among the 'Contynuers' Charles Bagehott has his coat-of-arms in the windows of the Hall; Richard Barton, Richard Anger, and John Hales were names of Counsel; John Dabrydgecourt, Thomas Esson, William Horsepoole, John Johnson, Thomas Moyle, Peter Starkey, and Francis Thorndyck were afterwards admitted to Gray's Inn.

Thomas and Edward Stanley were names of the then Earl of Derby's younger brothers, but there was a Cumberland family of the name of Stanley to which these 'Contynuers' may have belonged. Richard Champion, in his will, dated 1600, bequeathed to his nephew, Richard Champion, draper, 'all those annuities due to me from Mr. Stanley.'

Walter Moyle in 1589 bequeathed to his brother, Thomas Moyle, 'my watch, and ten pounds of money, and also my interest of my chamber in Staple Inn.'

We may fairly conclude that the system of letting and leasing chambers which was in vogue in 1580 was the same as that which was customary three hundred years later, in 1880, and that the Grand Company of the Inn had the same powers and rights in the time of Queen Elizabeth as we find them exercising in the reign of Queen Victoria.

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